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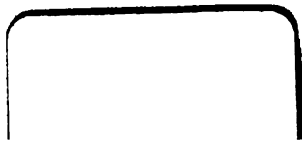
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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE
EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS AND GRECIANS.

~~~~~  
BY CHARLES ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE IN  
THE ROYAL COLLEGE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY  
OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

~~~~~  
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.
~~~~~

FROM THE LATEST LONDON EDITION.

CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED.

—————  
PHILADELPHIA:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.  
1869.

KF 1630



Miss Sally Fairchild,  
Boston.

## TO THE PUBLIC.

---

To attempt any laboured panegyric of an author of so distinguished celebrity as ROLLIN, would be an arduous as well as superfluous undertaking.

His profound erudition, the benevolence of his intentions, but above all, the piety of his sentiments, which clash with no sect or party among Christians, have already placed him high in the annals of fame, and have procured his writings an universal approval.

A peculiar felicity has attended Rollin as an author. His various performances have not only been perused with avidity by the public at large; they have also merited the applause of the learned and ingenious. Writers of the most enlightened and of the most refined taste in polite literature, such as Voltaire, Atterbury, &c., have honoured him with the highest and most deserved encomiums.

So various is our author's information, and so consummate his knowledge in every subject which occupied his pen, that, viewing him in this light, we would be ready to imagine he had seldom stirred abroad from the studious and cloistered retirement of a college; but, on the other hand, when we consider the easy elegance for which his style is so remarkable, we are apt to conclude, that he passed part of his time in courts.

A circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon this author, is his uncommon modesty. Learning, which too often elates the mind, and produces a haughty air of superiority, had no such effect on Rollin. This great man, so far from delivering his sentiments in a dictatorial tone, ever speaks in terms the most unassuming.

No preceptor ever studied so carefully the genius and dispositions of youth, or adapted his information so successfully for their improvement, as our author. In all his works, it is not the pedagogue who instructs, but the fond parent—the amiable friend.

## APPROBATION.



PARIS, *September 8, 1729.*

I HAVE read, by order of the lord-keeper, a manuscript, entitled, "The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, and Greeks, &c." In this work appear the same principles of religion, of probity, and the same happy endeavours to improve the minds of youth, which are so conspicuous in all the writings of the author. The present work is not confined merely to the instruction of young people, but may be of service to all persons in general, who will now have an opportunity of reading, in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few except the learned.

SECOURSSE.

## A LETTER,

*Written by the Right Reverend Dr. Francis Atterbury, late Lord Bishop of Rochester, to M. Rollin.*

---

REV. ATQUE ERUDITISSIME VIR,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui juxta sedes tuas habitat, scirem te Parisios revertisse; statui salutatum te ire, ut primum per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatatum, cum tandem me impleturum sperarem, frustra fui; domi non eras. Restat, ut quod coram exequi non potui, scriptis saltem literis præstem; tibi que ob ea omnia, quibus à te auctus sum, beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certè, et semper habiturus sum, maximas.

Revera munera illa librorum nuperis à te annis editorum egregia ac perhonorifica mihi visa sunt. Multi enim facio, et te, vir præstantissime, et tua omnia quæcunque in isto literarum genere perpolita sunt; in quo quidem te cæteris omnibus ejusmodi scriptoribus facile antecellere, atque esse eundem et dicendi et sentiendi magistrum optimum, prorsus existimo; cumque in excolendis his studiis aliquantulum ipse et operæ et temporis posuerim, liberè tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum esse à te, non solum quæ nesciebam prorsus, sed etiam quæ antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modestè itaque nimium de opere tuo sentis, cum juventuti tantum instituendæ elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certè scribis, quæ à viris istiusmodi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate et fructu legi possunt. Vetera quidem et satis cognita revocas in memoriam; sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornas; ut aliquid vestitus adjicias quod novum sit, alienis quod omnino tuum: bonasque picturas bona in luce collocando efficis, ut etiam iis, à quibus sæpissimè conspectæ sunt, elegantiores tamen solito appareant, et placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem sæpius versas, ab illo et ea quæ à te plurimus in locis narrantur, et ipsum ubique narranti modum videris traxisse, stylique Xenophontei nitorum ac venustam simplicitatem non imitari tantum, sed plane assequi: ita ut si Gallicè scisset Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsus more scripturum judicem.

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causâ (quod vitium procul à me abest,) sed verè ex animi sententia dico. Cum enim pulchris à te donis ditatus sim, quibus in eodem, aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparum me sentio, volui tamen propensè erga te animi gratique testimonium proferre, et te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodum et venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim et spretæ jacent, benè mereri; perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodò te utilem esse vis) optimis et præceptis et exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis sætatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat Deus! iisque decurrentibus sanum te præset atque incolumem. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet,

Tui observantissimus,

FRANCISCVS ROFFENSIS.

Pransurum te mecum post festa dixit mihi amicus ille noster qui tibi vicinus est. Cum staueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi significabis. Me certè annis malisque debilitatum, quandocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6° KAL. Jan. 1781.



## TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING LETTER.

---

REVEREND AND MOST LEARNED SIR,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I resolved to wait on you, as soon as the state of my health would permit. After having been prevented by the gout for some time, I was in hopes at length of paying my respects to you at your house, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me, therefore, to do that in writing, which I could not in person, and to return you my acknowledgments for all the favours you have been pleased to confer upon me, of which, I beg you will be assured, that I shall always retain the most grateful sense.

And indeed I esteem the books you have lately published, as presents of exceeding value, and such as do me very great honour. For I have the highest regard, most excellent sir, both for you and for everything that comes from so masterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning you treat; in which I must believe that you not only excel all other writers, but are at the same time the best master of speaking and thinking well; and I freely confess, that though I had applied some time and pains in cultivating these studies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I was instructed in things by you, of which I was not only entirely ignorant, but seemed to myself to have never learned before. You have therefore too modest an opinion of your work, when you declare it composed solely for the instruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleasure and improvement, by persons not unacquainted with learning of the same kind. For, while you call to mind ancient facts, and things sufficiently known, you do it in such a manner, that you illustrate, you embellish them; still adding something new to the old, something entirely your own to the labours of others; by placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unusual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to those who have seen and studied them most.

In your frequent correspondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and everywhere his very manner of relating; you seem not only to have imitated, but attained the shining elegance and beautiful simplicity of that author's style; so that, had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have used no other words, nor written in any other method, upon the subject you treat, than you have done.

I do not say this out of flattery, which is far from being my vice, but from my real sense and opinion. As you have enriched me with your fine presents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the same, or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to testify my gratitude and affection for you, and at least to make you some small, though exceedingly unequal return.

Go on, most learned and venerable sir, to deserve well of sound literature, which now lies universally neglected and despised. Go on in forming the youth of France, since you will have their utility to be your sole view, upon the best precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it please God to add many years to your life, and during the course of them to preserve you in health and safety. This is the earnest wish and prayer of

Your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS ROFFEN.

P. S. Our friend, your neighbour, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleased to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will certainly find one, so weak with age and ill's as I am, at home.

December 28, 1731.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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### THE UTILITY OF PROFANE HISTORY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO RELIGION.

THE study of profane history would be unworthy of a serious attention, and the great length of time, bestowed upon it, if it were confined to the bare knowledge of ancient transactions, and an unpleasing inquiry into the eras when each of these happened. It little concerns us to know that there were once such men as Alexander, Cæsar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Assyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Persians, who were themselves subjected by the Macedonians, as these were afterwards by the Romans. But it highly concerns us to know by what means those empires were founded; the steps by which they rose to the exalted pitch of grandeur we so much admire; what it was that constituted their true glory and felicity, and what were the causes of their declension and fall.

What is to be observed in history, besides the events and chronology.

1. The causes of the rise and fall of empires.

It is of no less importance to study attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and customs; and especially to acquaint ourselves with the character and disposition, the talents, virtues, and even vices, of those men by whom they were governed; and whose good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the states over which they presided.

2. The genius and character of nations, and of the great persons that governed them.

Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and at the same time, all the great men who are any way conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

We acquire, at the same time, another knowledge, which cannot but excite the attention of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning; I mean, the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated, and improved; we there discover and trace, as it

3. The origin and progress of arts and sciences.



were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; and that they seem to be either neglected or forgotten, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that, when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a transient view of these objects, though so very important, in this place; because I have already treated them with some extent elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

4. The observing, especially, the connexion between sacred and profane history.

But another object, of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the chimeras of a superstitious worship, and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and, above all, the admirable wisdom with which his providence governs the universe.

If the inherent conviction of this last truth raised, according to Cicero's observation,<sup>2</sup> the Romans above all other nations; we may, in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives history a greater superiority to many other branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God disposes all events as supreme Lord and Sovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings, and the duration of empires; and that he, for reasons inscrutable to all but himself, transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another.

God presided at the dispersion of men, after the flood.

We discover this important truth in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of profane history; I mean to the dispersion of the posterity of Noah into the several countries of the earth where they settled. Liberty, chance, views of interest, a love for certain countries, and similar motives, were, in outward appearance, the only causes of the different choice which men made in these various migrations. But the Scriptures inform us, that amidst the trouble and confusion that followed the sudden change in the language of Noah's descendants, God presided invisibly over all their councils and deliberations; that nothing was transacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he alone guided and settled all mankind<sup>3</sup> agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and justice. *The Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III. and IV. of the method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. — Orat. de Arusp. Resp. n. 19.

<sup>3</sup> The ancients themselves, according to Pindar, (Olymp. Od. vii.,) retained some idea, that the dispersion of men was not the effect of chance, but that they had been settled in different countries by the appointment of Providence.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xi. 8, 9.

We must therefore consider as an indisputable principle, and as the basis and foundation to the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts, as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight. — *Known to the Lord are all his works from the beginning.*<sup>1</sup>

God only has fixed the fate of all empires, both with respect to his own people and the reign of his Son.

God has vouchsafed to discover to us in holy Scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition; they reveal the true causes and hidden springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently, what idea we ourselves ought to entertain of them.

Not to mention Egypt, that served at first as the cradle (if I may be allowed the expression) of the holy nation; and which afterwards was a severe prison, and a fiery furnace to it;<sup>2</sup> and, at last, the scene of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favour of Israel: not to mention, I say, Egypt, the mighty empires of Nineveh and Babylon furnish a thousand proofs of the truth here advanced.

Powerful kings appointed to punish or protect Israel.

Their most powerful monarchs, Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanazar, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many more, were in God's hand, as so many instruments, which he employed to punish the transgressions of his people. *He lifted up an ensign to the nations from far, and hissed unto them from the end of the earth, to come and receive his orders.*<sup>3</sup> He himself put the sword into their hands, and appointed their marches daily. He breathed courage and ardour into their soldiers; made their armies indefatigable in labour, and invincible in battle; and spread terror and consternation wherever they directed their steps.

The rapidity of their conquests ought to have enabled them to discern the invisible hand that conducted them. But, says one of these kings<sup>4</sup> in the name of the rest, *By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: And I have removed the bounds of the people and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand*

<sup>1</sup> Acts, xv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage. Exod. vi. 6. Out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt. Deut. iv. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Isai. v. 26, 30. x. 26, 34. xiii. 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Sennacherib.

*hath found as a nest the riches of the people; and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth or peeped.*<sup>1</sup>

But this monarch, so august and wise in his own eye, how did he appear in that of the Almighty? Only as a subaltern agent, a servant sent by his master: *The rod of his anger, and the staff in his hand.*<sup>2</sup> God's design was to chastise, not to extirpate his children. But Sennacherib *had it in his heart to destroy and cut off all nations.*<sup>3</sup> What then will be the issue of this kind of contest between the designs of God, and those of this prince?<sup>4</sup> At the time that he fancied himself already possessed of Jerusalem, the Lord, with a single blast, disperses all his proud hopes; destroys, in one night, a hundred fourscore and five thousand of his forces: and putting a *hook in his nose, and a bridle in his lips,*<sup>5</sup> (as though he had been a wild beast,) he leads him back to his own dominions, covered with infamy, through the midst of those nations, who, but a little before, had beheld him in all his pride and haughtiness.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, appears still more visibly governed by a Providence, to which he himself is an entire stranger, although it presides over all his deliberations, and determines all his actions.

Being come at the head of his army to two highways, the one of which led to Jerusalem, and the other to Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites, this king, not knowing which of them would be best for him to strike into, debates for some time with himself, and at last cast lots.<sup>6</sup> God makes the lot fall on Jerusalem, to fulfil the menaces he had pronounced against that city; viz. to destroy it, to burn the temple, and lead its inhabitants into captivity.

One would imagine, at first sight, that this king had been prompted to besiege Tyre, merely from a political view, viz. that he might not leave behind him so powerful and well fortified a city; nevertheless, a superior will had decreed the siege of Tyre.<sup>7</sup> God designed, on one side, to humble the pride of Ithobal its king, who fancying himself wiser than Daniel, whose fame was spread over the whole East; and ascribing entirely to his rare and uncommon prudence the extent of his dominions, and the greatness of his riches, persuaded himself he was a *god, and sat in the seat of God.*<sup>8</sup>

On the other side, he also designed to chastise the luxury, the voluptuousness, and the pride of those haughty merchants, who thought themselves kings of the sea, and sovereigns over crowned heads; and especially that inhuman joy of the Tyrians, who looked upon the fall of Jerusalem (the rival of Tyre) as their own aggrandisement. These were the motives which prompted God himself to lead Nebuchadnezzar to Tyre; and to make him execute, though unknowingly, his commands. IDCIROO ECCE EGO ADDUCAM *ad Tyrum Nebuchodonosor.*

<sup>1</sup> Isai. x. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Isai. x. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. v. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ver. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Because thy rage against me, and thy tumult is come up into my ears, therefore I will put my hook into thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest. 2 Kings, xix. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Esek. xxi. 19, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Esek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

<sup>8</sup> Esek. xxviii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> To recompense this monarch, whose army the Almighty had caused to serve a great service against Tyre,<sup>2</sup> (these are God's own words,) and to compensate the Babylonish troops, for the grievous toils they had sustained during a thirteen years' siege: *I will give, saith the Lord God, the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.*<sup>3</sup>

The same Nebuchadnezzar, eager to immortalize his name by the grandeur of his exploits, was determined to heighten the glory of his conquests by his splendour and magnificence, in embellishing the capital of his empire with pompous edifices, and the most sumptuous ornaments. But while a set of adulating courtiers, on whom he lavished the highest honours and immense riches, make all places resound with his name, an august senate of watchful spirits is formed, who weigh, in the balance of truth, the actions of kings, and pronounce upon them a sentence from which there lies no appeal. The king of Babylon is cited before this tribunal, in which there presides a Supreme Judge, who, to a vigilance which nothing can elude, adds a holiness that will not allow of the least irregularity. *Vigil et sanctus.* In this tribunal all Nebuchadnezzar's actions, which were the admiration and wonder of the public, are examined with rigour; and a search is made into the inward recesses of his heart, to discover his most hidden thoughts. How will this formidable inquiry end? At the instant that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in his palace, and revolving, with a secret complacency, his exploits, his grandeur and magnificence, is saying to himself, *Is not this great Babylon that I built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?*<sup>4</sup> in this very instant, when, by vainly flattering himself that he held his power and kingdom from himself alone, he usurped the seat of the Almighty: a voice from heaven pronounces his sentence, and declares to him, that, *his kingdom was departed from him, that he should be driven from men, and his dwelling be with the beasts of the field, until he knew that the Most High ruled in the kingdoms of men, and gave them to whomsoever he would.*<sup>5</sup>

This tribunal, which is for ever assembled, though invisible to mortal eyes, pronounced the like sentence on those famous conquerors, on those heroes of the pagan world, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, considered themselves as the sole authors of their exalted fortune; as independent of authority of every kind, and as not holding of a superior power.

As God appointed some princes to be the instruments of his vengeance, he made others the dispensers of his goodness. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and to enable him to support with dignity so glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which constitute the greatest captains and princes; and caused that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens so much admired, though they neither knew the author nor the true cause of it.

<sup>1</sup> This incident is related more at large in the history of the Egyptians under the reign of Amœis.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxix. 18, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Dan. iv. 1—34.

<sup>4</sup> Dan. iv. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. iv. 31, 32.

We see in profane history the extent and swiftness of his conquests, the intrepidity of his courage, the wisdom of his views and designs; his greatness of soul, his noble generosity; his truly paternal affection for his subjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderness, which made them consider him rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and sovereign. We find, I say, all these particulars in profane history: but we do not perceive the secret principle of so many exalted qualities, nor the hidden spring which set them in motion.

But Isaiah affords us this light, and delivers himself in words suitable to the greatness and majesty of the God who inspired him. He represents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; *subduing nations before him, loosening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of brass, cutting in sunder the bars of iron*, throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in possession of the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places.<sup>1</sup>

The prophet also tells us the cause and motive of all these events.<sup>2</sup> It was in order to punish Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, step by step, and gives success to all his enterprises. *I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways, for Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect.*<sup>3</sup> But this prince is so blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his Master, nor remember his benefactor. *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me;—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.*<sup>4</sup>

A fine image of the Men seldom form to themselves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties essential to regal office, regal power. The Scripture only gives us a full idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner,<sup>5</sup> under the image of a very large and strong tree, whose top reaches to heaven, and whose branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it constitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It supplies a grateful shade, and a secure retreat to beasts of every kind; animals, both wild and tame, are safely lodged under its hospitable branches; the birds of heaven dwell in the boughs of it, and it supplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more just or more instructive idea of the kingly office, whose true grandeur and solid glory does not consist in that splendour, pomp, and magnificence which surround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by subjects; but in the real services and solid advantages it procures to nations, whose

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<sup>1</sup> "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel."—Isa. xlv. 1—8.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xlv. 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xlv. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xlv. 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. iv. 7, 9

support, defence, security, and asylum, it forms, (both from its nature and institution,) at the same time that it is the fruitful source of terrestrial blessings of every kind; especially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the shade and protection of royalty, a sweet peace and tranquillity, not to be interrupted or disturbed: while the monarch himself sacrifices his ease, and experiences alone those storms and tempests from which he shelters others?

Methinks the reality of this noble image, and the execution of this great plan, (religion only excepted,) appears in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the history of that prince. He has there specified a great number of nations, which, though far distant one from another, and differing widely in their manners, customs, and language, were however all united by the same sentiments of esteem, reverence, and love for a prince, whose government they wished, if possible, to have continued for ever, so much happiness and tranquillity did they enjoy under it.<sup>1</sup>

To this amiable and salutary government, let us oppose the idea which the sacred writings give us of those monarchs and conquerors, so much boasted by antiquity, who, instead of making the happiness of mankind the sole object of their care, were prompted by no other motives than those of interest and ambition. <sup>2</sup> The Holy Spirit represents them under the symbols of monsters generated from the agitation of the sea, from the tumult, confusion, and dashing of the waves one against the other; and under the image of cruel wild beasts, which spread terror and desolation universally, and are for ever gorging themselves with blood and slaughter. How strong and expressive is this colouring!

Nevertheless, it is often from such destructive models that the rules and maxims of the education generally bestowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is these ravagers of nations, these scourgers of mankind, they are destined to resemble. By inspiring them with the sentiments of a boundless ambition, and the love of false glory, they become (to borrow an expression from Scripture) *young lions: they learn to catch the prey, and devour men — to lay waste cities, to turn lands and their fatness into desolation by the noise of their roaring.*<sup>3</sup> And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noise of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and desolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, and which are extracted from the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, prove sufficiently the supreme power exercised by God over all empires; and the relation he thought fit to establish between the rest of the nations of the earth, and his own peculiar people. The same truth appears as conspicuously under the kings of Syria and Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> Εὐνοήθη ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαύτην τε παντασὶ ἀπὸ χαρίζεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τῆ ἀπὸ γνῶμη ἀξίῃ φέροντοσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xix. 3, 7.

successors of Alexander the Great: between whose history, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the close connexion.

To these incidents, I cannot forbear adding another, which, though universally known, is not therefore the less remarkable; I mean, the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Israel, and, in a rapture of admiration, cried out, "It is manifest that the Almighty has fought for us, and has driven the Jews from those towers, since neither the utmost human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could have effected it."<sup>1</sup>

God has always disposed of human events relatively to the reign of the Messiah.

Besides the visible and sensible connexion of sacred and profane history, there is another more sacred and more distinct relation with respect to the Messiah, for whose coming the Almighty, whose work was ever present to his sight, prepared mankind from far, even by the state of ignorance and dissoluteness in which he suffered them to be immersed during four thousand years. It was to show the necessity there was of our having a Mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; and that neither the light of reason, nor the dictates of philosophy, could dispel their clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majesty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil societies, and the harmony of the different members of which they are composed, the wisdom of legislators, and the learning of philosophers, the earth seems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and resplendent; nevertheless, in the eye of God, it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the first instant of the creation by the Almighty fiat. *The earth was WITHOUT FORM AND VOID.*<sup>2</sup> This is saying but little: it was wholly polluted and impure, (the reader will observe that I speak here of the heathens,) and appeared to God only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the sovereign arbiter of the universe, who, pursuant to the dictates of his wisdom, dispenses both light and darkness, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human passions, would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmost corruptions, to degenerate into absolute barbarity, and brutalize themselves, in a manner, by the extinction of the first principles of the law of nature, as is seen in several savage nations. Such an obstacle would have retarded too much the rapid course promised by him to the first preachers of the doctrine of his Son.

He darted from far into the minds of men the rays of several great truths, to dispose them for the reception of others of a more important nature. He prepared them for the instructions of the gospel, by those

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. i. iii. c. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. vi. 11.

of philosophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen professors to examine, in their schools, several questions, and establish several principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the spirit and beauty of their disputations. It is well known, that the philosophers inculcate, in every part of their writings, the existence of a God, the necessity of a Providence that presides over the government of the world, the immortality of the soul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked, the nature of those duties which constitute the bond of society, the character of the virtues that are the basis of morality, as prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and such like truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteousness, yet they were of use to scatter certain clouds, and to dispel certain obscurities.

It is by an effect of the same Providence, which prepared from far the ways of the Gospel, that when the Messiah revealed himself in the flesh, God had united together a great number of nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had subjected to one monarch, from the ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free course to the preaching of the apostles. When profane history is studied with judgment and maturity, it must lead us to these reflections, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth subservient to the reign of his Son.

It ought likewise to teach us the value of all Exterior talents in- that glitters most in the eye of the world, and is dulged to the heathens. most capable of dazzling it. Valour, fortitude, skill in government, profound policy, merit in magistracy, capacity for the most abstruse sciences, beauty of genius, delicacy of taste, and perfection in all arts: these are the objects which profane history exhibits to us, which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the same time, this very history ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever since the creation, has indulged to his enemies all those shining qualities which the world esteems, and on which it frequently bestows the highest eulogiums; and, on the contrary, that he often refuses them to his most faithful servants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely superior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are desirous of them. *Happy is that people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord.*<sup>1</sup>

I shall conclude this first part of my preface with a reflection which results naturally from what has We must not be too been said. Since it is certain, that all these great profuse in our applauses men, who were so much boasted of in profane history, were so unhappy as not to know the true God, and to displease him; we should therefore be particularly careful not to extol them too much. St. Austin, in his *Retractions*, repents his having lavished so many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philosophy; because these, says he.

<sup>1</sup> Psal. cxliv. 15.



were impious men, whose doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Austin supposes it to be unlawful for us to admire and praise whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims of the heathens. He<sup>2</sup> only advises us to correct whatever is erroneous, and to approve whatever is conformable to rectitude and justice in them. He applauds the Romans on many occasions, and particularly in his books *De Civitate Dei*,<sup>3</sup> which is one of the last and finest of his works. He there shows, that the Almighty raised them to be victorious over nations, and sovereigns of a great part of the earth, because of the gentleness and equity of their government, (alluding to the happy ages of the commonwealth): thus bestowing on virtues, that were merely human, rewards of the same kind with which that people, though very judicious in other respects, were so unhappy as to content themselves. St. Austin, therefore, does not condemn the encomiums which are bestowed on the heathens, but only the excess of them.

Students ought to take care, and especially we, who by the duties of our profession are obliged to be perpetually conversant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the spirit of them; not to imbibe unperceived their sentiments, by lavishing too much applause on their heroes; nor to give into excesses, which the heathens indeed did not consider as such, because they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some persons, whose friendship I esteem as I ought, and for whose learning and judgment I have the highest regard, have found this defect in some parts of my work, on the *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres, &c.*, and are of opinion that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums I bestow on the illustrious men of antiquity. I indeed own, that the expressions on those occasions are sometimes too strong and too unguarded: however, I imagined that I had supplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints with which I have interspersed those four volumes, and therefore, that it would be only losing time to repeat them; not to mention my having laid down, in different places, the principles which the fathers of the church established on this head, in declaring with St. Austin, that without true piety, that is, without a sincere worship of God, there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be such, whose object is worldly glory; a truth, says this father, acknowledged universally by those who are inspired with real and solid piety. *Illud constat, inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem; nec eam veram esse, quando gloriæ servet humanæ.*<sup>4</sup>

When I observed that Perseus had not resolution enough to kill himself,<sup>5</sup> I did not thereby pretend to justify the practice of the hea-

<sup>1</sup> Laus ipsa, qua Platonem vel Platonicos seu academicos philosophos tantum extuli quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi displicuit; præsertim quorum contra errores magnos defendenda est Christiana doctrina. — *Retract. l. i. c. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> Id in quoque corrigendum, quod pravum est; quod autem rectum est, approbandum. — *De Bapt. con. Donat. l. vii. c. 16.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. v. cap. 19, 21, &c.*

<sup>4</sup> *De Civitate Dei, lib. v. c. 19.*

<sup>5</sup> *Vol. IV. p. 385.*

thens, who looked upon suicide as lawful: but simply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius passed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two against that custom, it would have obviated all mistake, and left no room for censure.

The ostracism, employed at Athens against persons of the greatest merit; theft connived at, as one would imagine, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality with regard to possessions established in the same city, by the authority of the state, and things of a like nature, may admit of some difficulty. However, I shall pay a more immediate attention to these particulars,<sup>1</sup> when the course of the history brings me to them; and shall be proud of receiving such lights as the learned and unprejudiced may please to communicate.

In a work like that I now offer to the public, intended more immediately for the instruction of youth, it were heartily to be wished, there might not be a single thought or expression that could contribute to inculcate false or dangerous principles. When I first set about writing the present history, I proposed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always observed it, though it was my intention to do so; and therefore on this, as on many other occasions, I shall stand in need of the reader's indulgence.

As I write principally for the instruction of youth, and for persons who do not intend to make very deep researches into ancient history, I shall not crowd this work with a sort of erudition, that otherwise might have been introduced naturally into it, but does not suit my purpose. My design is, in giving a continued series of ancient history, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I shall judge most useful and entertaining with respect to the transactions, and most instructive with regard to the reflections.

I wish it were possible for me to avoid the dry sterility of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and at the same time the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that it is difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes; and although, in the two parts of history which commence this work, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may still be thought too long; but I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However, the taste of the public shall be my guide, to which I will endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was so happy as not to displease the public in my first attempt.<sup>2</sup> I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I there treated, viz. polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it, from ancient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful, affecting, delicate, and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the

<sup>1</sup> This Mr. Rollin has done admirably, in the several volumes of his Ancient History.

<sup>2</sup> The method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c. The English translation (in four volumes) of this excellent piece of criticism, has gone through several editions.

manner in which they were presented to him ; and besides, the variety of the subjects supplied the want of those graces which might have been expected from the style and composition.

But I have not the same advantage in the present work, the choice of the subject not being entirely at my discretion. In a series of history, an author is often obliged to introduce a great many things that are not always very interesting, especially with regard to the origin and rise of empires ; these parts are generally overrun with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the sequel furnishes matter of a more pleasing nature, and events that engage more strongly the reader's attention ; and I shall take care to make use of whatever is most valuable in the best authors. In the mean time, I must intreat the reader to remember, that in a widely extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harvests, smiling meads, and fruitful orchards ; but sees, at different intervals, wild and less cultivated tracts of land. And to use another comparison after Pliny,<sup>1</sup> some trees in the spring emulously shoot forth a numberless multitude of blossoms, which, by this rich dress, (the splendour and vivacity of whose colours charm the eye,) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced season ; while other trees,<sup>2</sup> of a less gay and florid kind, though they bear good fruits, have not, however, the fragrance and beauty of blossoms, nor seem to share in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will easily apply this image to the composition of history.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be so ingenuous as to confess, that I do not scruple, nor am ashamed, to rifle wherever I come ; and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I transcribe, because of the liberty I take to make some slight alterations. I have made the best use in my power of the solid reflections that occur in the second and third part of Bishop Meaux's<sup>3</sup> *Universal History*, which is one of the most beautiful and most useful books in our language. I have also received great assistance from the learned Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient history. I shall take the same liberty with whatever comes in my way that may suit my design, and contribute to its perfection.

I am very sensible, that it is not so much for a person's reputation thus to make use of other men's labours, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over-fond of that title, and shall be extremely well pleased, and think myself very happy, if I can but deserve the name of a good compiler, and supply my readers with a tolerable history, who will not be over-solicitous to inquire what hand it comes from, provided they are pleased with it.

Students, with a very moderate application, may easily go through this course of history in a year, without interrupting their other

<sup>1</sup> Arcorum flos, est pleni veris indicium, et anni renascentis flos gaudium arborum. Tunc se novas, aliasque quam sunt, ostendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen usque exuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerisque. Non enim omnes florent, et sunt tristes quedam, queque non sentiant gaudia annorum ; nec ulle flore exhilarantur, natalove pomorum recursum annuos versicolori nuncio promittunt. — Plin. Nat. Hist. lxxvi. c. 25.

<sup>2</sup> As the fig-tree.

<sup>3</sup> Mons. Bossuet.

studies. According to my plan, my work should be given to the highest form but one. Youths in this class are capable of pleasure and improvement from this history; and I would not have them enter upon that of the Romans, till they study rhetoric.

It would have been useful, and even necessary, to have given some idea of the ancient authors from whom I have extracted the following materials. But the course itself of the history will show this, and naturally give me an opportunity of producing them.

In the mean time it may not be improper to take notice of the superstitious credulity objected to most of these authors, with regard to auguries, auspices, prodigies, dreams, and oracles; and, indeed, we are shocked to see writers, so judicious in all other respects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate these particulars with a scrupulous accuracy, and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of trifling and ridiculous ceremonies, such as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, signs discovered in the smoking entrails of beasts, the greater or less greediness of chickens in pecking corn, and a thousand similar absurdities.

The judgment we ought to form of the auguries, prodigies, and oracles of the ancients.

It must be confessed, that a reader of judgment cannot, without astonishment, see the most illustrious persons among the ancients, for wisdom and knowledge; generals who were the least liable to be influenced by popular opinions, and most sensible how necessary it is to take advantage of auspicious moments; the wisest councils of princes perfectly well skilled in the arts of government; the most august assemblies of grave senators; in a word, the most powerful and most learned nations in all ages; to see, I say, all these so unaccountably weak as to make the decision of the greatest affairs, such as the declaring war, the giving battle, or pursuing a victory, depend on the trifling practices and customs above mentioned; deliberations that were of the utmost importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But, at the same time, we must be so just as to own, that their manners, customs, and laws, would not permit men in these ages to dispense with the observation of these practices; that education, hereditary tradition transmitted from immemorial time, the universal belief and consent of different nations, the precepts and even examples of philosophers; that all these, I say, made the practices in question appear venerable in their eyes; and that these ceremonies, how absurd soever they may appear to us, and are really so in themselves, constituted part of the religion and public worship of the ancients.

Their's was a false religion, and a mistaken worship; and yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the stream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure. Man, when abandoned to his own ideas, sees nothing beyond the present moment. Futurity is to him an abyss invisible to the most eagle-eyed, the most piercing sagacity, and exhibits nothing on which he may fix his views, or form any resolution with certainty. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his designs. He is sensible that he is dependent entirely on a Supreme Power, that disposes all events with absolute authority, and which, in spite of his utmost efforts, and of the

wisdom of the best-concerted schemes, by only raising the smallest obstacles and slightest disappointments, renders it impossible for him to execute his measures.

This obscurity and weakness oblige him to have recourse to a superior knowledge and power : he is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the strong desire he has to succeed in all his undertakings, to address that Being, who he is sensible has reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of disposing it as he sees fitting. He accordingly directs prayers, makes vows, and offers sacrifices, to prevail, if possible with the Deity to reveal himself, either in dreams, in oracles, or other signs, which may manifest his will ; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment, and that it is a man's greatest interest to know this supreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of, the Supreme Being, is natural to man : it is imprinted deep in his heart ; he is reminded of it by the inward sense of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which surround him ; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourse to the Deity is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the strongest band by which man is united to his Creator.

Those who were so happy as to know the true God, and were chosen to be his peculiar people, never failed to address him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain his succour and the manifestation of his will. He accordingly was so gracious as to reveal himself to them ; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies ; and to protect them by miracles of the most astonishing kind.

But those who were so blind as to substitute falsehood in the place of truth, directed themselves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to answer their expectations, nor recompense the homage that mortals paid them, in any other way than by error and illusion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence arose the vain observation of dreams, which, from a superstitious credulity, they mistook for salutary warnings from heaven ; those obscure and equivocal answers of oracles, beneath whose veil the spirits of darkness concealed their ignorance ; and, by a studied ambiguity reserved to themselves an evasion or subterfuge, whatever might be the issue of the event. To this are owing the prognostics, with regard to futurity, which men fancied they should find in the entrails of beasts, in the flight and singing of birds, in the aspect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance ; those dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which, it was believed, nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even sometimes the effusion of human blood ; in fine, those black inventions of magic, those delusions, enchantments, sorceries, invocations of ghosts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a received usage, observed by the heathen nations in general ; and this usage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a short account. We

have a signal proof of this in the *Cyropædia*,<sup>1</sup> where Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince such noble instructions, instructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain, and great prince. He exhorts him above all things, to pay the highest reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterprise, whether important or inconsiderable, without first calling upon and consulting them; he enjoins him to honour priests and augurs, as being their ministers, and the interpreters of their will; but yet not to trust or abandon himself implicitly and blindly to them, till he had first learnt every thing relating to the science of divination, of auguries and auspices. The reason he gives for the subordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the necessity they are under of consulting them in all things, is this: how clear-sighted soever mankind may be in the ordinary course of affairs, their views are always very narrow and limited with regard to futurity; whereas the Deity, at a single glance, takes in all ages and events. "As the gods," says Cambyses to his son, "are eternal, they know equally all things, past, present, and to come." "With regard to the mortals who address them, they give salutary counsels to those whom they are pleased to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought, or ought not, to undertake. If it is observed, that the deities do not give the like counsels to all men, we are not to wonder at it, since no necessity obliges them to attend to the welfare of those persons on whom they do not vouchsafe to confer their favour."

Such was the doctrine of the most learned and most enlightened nations, with respect to the different kinds of divination; and it is no wonder that the authors who wrote the history of those nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of such particulars as constituted part of their religion and worship, and was frequently in a manner the soul of their deliberation, and the standard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the same reason, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely, in the ensuing history, what relates to this subject, though I have, however, retrenched a great part of it.

Archbishop Usher is my usual guide in chronology. In the history of the Carthaginians, I commonly set down four eras: the year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity's sake, I mark thus, A.M.; those of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and lastly, the year that precedes the birth of our Saviour, which I suppose to be the 4004th of the world; wherein I follow Usher and others, though they suppose it to be four years earlier.

To know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe; the steps whereby they arose to that pitch of grandeur related in history; by what ties families and cities were united, in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority; it will be necessary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to those ages, in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions, (after the confusion of tongues,) began to people the earth.

<sup>1</sup> Zenoph. in *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 25, 27.

In these early ages, every father was the supreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever contests and divisions might arise within it; the natural legislator over his little society; the defender and protector of those who, by their birth, education, and weakness, were under his protection and safeguard.

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestic labours, they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which paternal vigilance established in this little domestic senate, being dictated with no other view than to promote the general welfare, concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors with a full and free consent, were religiously kept and preserved in families, as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and security.

But different motives gave rise to different laws. One man, overjoyed at the birth of a first-born son, resolved to distinguish him from his future children, by bestowing on him a more considerable share of his possessions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the interest of a beloved wife, or darling daughter, whom he wanted to settle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to secure their rights and increase their advantages. The solitary and cheerless state to which a wife would be reduced, in case she should become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide beforehand for the subsistence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity.

In proportion as every family increased, by the birth of children, and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by insensible degrees, towns and cities. From these different views, and others of the like nature, arose the peculiar customs of nations, as well as their rights, which are infinitely various.

These societies, growing in process of time very numerous, and the families being divided into several branches, each of which had its head, whose different interests and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity, it was necessary to intrust one person with the government of the whole, in order to unite all these chiefs or heads under a single authority, and to maintain the public peace by a uniform administration. The idea which men still retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to choose from among their wisest and most virtuous men, him in whom they had observed the most tender and fatherly disposition. Neither ambition nor cabal had the least share in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on these occasions, and gave the preference to the most worthy.<sup>1</sup>

To heighten the lustre of their newly acquired dignity, and enable

<sup>1</sup> Quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos modestio provebatur. — Justin. l. i. c. 1.

them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themselves entirely to the public good, to defend the state against the invasions of their neighbours, and the factions of discontented citizens, the title of king was bestowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a sceptre put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were assigned, and guards appointed for the security of their persons; tributes were granted; they were invested with full powers to administer justice, and for this purpose were armed with a sword, in order to restrain injustice, and punish crimes.

At first, every city had its particular king, who, being more solicitous to preserve his dominion than to enlarge it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country.<sup>1</sup> But the almost unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours, jealousy against a more powerful king, the turbulent and restless spirit of a prince, his martial disposition, or thirst of aggrandizing himself, and displaying his abilities, gave rise to wars, which frequently ended in the entire subjection of the vanquished, whose cities were by that means possessed by the victor, and insensibly increased his dominions. Thus, a first victory paving a way to a second, and making a prince more powerful and enterprising, several cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or less extent, according to the degree of ardour with which the victor had pushed his conquests.<sup>2</sup>

The ambition of some of these princes being too vast to confine itself within a single kingdom, it broke over all bounds, and spread universally like a torrent, or the ocean; swallowed up kingdoms and nations; and gloried in depriving princes of their dominions who had not done them the least injury; in carrying fire and sword into the most remote countries, and in leaving, every where, bloody traces of their progress! Such was the origin of those famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made various uses of victory, according to the diversity of their dispositions or interests. Some considering themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and imagining they were sufficiently indulgent in sparing their lives, bereaved them as well as their children, of their possessions, their country, and their liberty; subjected them to a most severe captivity; employed them in those arts which are necessary for the support of life, in the lowest and most servile offices of the house, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the most inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ransack the bowels of the earth, merely to satiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and slaves, masters and bondmen.

Others introduced the custom of transporting whole nations into new countries, where they settled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

Other princes, again, of more gentle dispositions, contented themselves with only obliging the vanquished nations to purchase their

<sup>1</sup> *Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat. Intra suam cuique patriam regna fiebantur.* — Justin. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Domitis proximis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alios transiret, et proxima quæque victoria instrumentum sequentis esset, totius orientis populos subegit.* — Justin. *Ibid.*



liberties, and the enjoyment of their laws and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpose; and sometimes they would suffer kings to sit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them some kind of homage.

But such of these monarchs as were the wisest and ablest politicians, thought it glorious to establish a kind of equality between the nations newly conquered and their other subjects, granting the former almost all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed. And by this means a great number of nations, that were spread over different and far distant countries, constituted, in some measure, but one city, at least but one people.

Thus I have given a general and concise idea of mankind, from the earliest monuments which history has preserved on this subject, the particulars whereof I shall endeavour to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I shall not touch upon the history of the Jews nor that of the Romans. I begin with the Egyptians and Carthaginians, because the former are of very great antiquity, and as the history of both is less blended with that of other nations; whereas those of other states are more interwoven, and sometimes succeed one another.

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE DIFFERENT SORTS OF GOVERNMENTS.

THE multiplicity of governments established among the different nations of whom I am to treat, exhibits, at first view, to the eye and to the understanding, a spectacle highly worthy our attention, and shows the astonishing variety which the sovereign of the world has constituted in the empires that divide it, by the diversity of inclinations and manners observable in each of those nations. We herein perceive the characteristic of the Deity, who, ever resembling himself in all the works of his creation, takes a pleasure to paint and display therein, under a thousand shapes, an infinite wisdom, by a wonderful fertility, and an admirable simplicity: a wisdom that can form a single work, and compose a whole, perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the universe, and all the productions of nature, notwithstanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diversified.

In the East, the form of government that prevails is the monarchical; which, being attended with a majestic pomp, and a haughtiness almost inseparable from supreme authority, naturally tends to exact a more distinguished respect, and a more entire submission, from those in subjection to its power. When we consider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican spirit had breathed themselves into every part of that country, and had inspired almost all the different people who inhabited it with a violent desire of independence; diversified, however, under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of subjection and slavery. In one part of Greece the supreme power is lodged in the people, and is what we call a *democracy*; in another, it is vested in the assembly of wise men, and those advanced in years, to which the name of *aristocracy* is given; in a third republic, the government is lodged in a small number of select and powerful persons, and is called *oligarchy*; in others, again, it is a

mixture of all these parts, or of several of them, and sometimes even of regal power.

It is manifest, that this variety of governments, which all tend to the same point, though by different ways, contributes very much to the beauty of the universe; and that it can proceed from no other being than Him who governs it with infinite wisdom, and who diffuses universally an order and symmetry, the effect of which is to unite the several parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although in this diversity of governments, some are better than others, we nevertheless may very justly affirm, that *there is no power but of God; and that the powers that be are ordained of God.*<sup>1</sup> But neither every use that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him: and when we see these governments degenerating sometimes to violence, factions, despotic sway, and tyranny, it is wholly to the passions of mankind that we must ascribe those irregularities, which are directly opposite to the primitive institution of states, and which a superior wisdom afterward reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his designs, full of equity and justice.

This scene or spectacle, as I before observed, highly deserves our attention and admiration, and will display itself gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the ancient history, of which it seems to me to form an essential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object, that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events, what regards the manners and customs of nations; because these show their genius and character, which we may call, in some measure, the soul of history. For to take notice only of eras and events, and confine our curiosity and researches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in visiting many countries, should content himself with knowing their exact distance from each other, and consider only the situation of the several places, the manner of building, and the dresses of the people, without giving himself the least trouble to converse with the inhabitants, in order to inform himself of their genius, manners, disposition, laws, and governments. Homer, whose design was to give, in the person of Ulysses, a model of a wise and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his *Odyssey*, that his hero informed himself very exactly of the manners and customs of the several people whose cities he visited; in which he ought to be imitated by every person who applies himself to the study of history.

#### A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ASIA.

As Asia will hereafter be the principal scene of the history we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader such a general idea of it, as may communicate some knowledge of its most considerable provinces and cities.

The northern and eastern parts of Asia are less known in ancient history.

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiii. 1.

To the north are ASIATIC SARMATIA and ASIATIC SCYTHIA, which answer to Tartary.

Sarmatia is situated between the river *Tanais*, which divides Europe and Asia, and the river *Rha* or *Volga*. *Scythia* is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other side of mount *Imaus*. The nations of Scythia best known to us are the *Sacæ* and the *Masagetæ*.

The most eastern parts are, SERICA, Cathay; SINARUM REGIO, China; and INDIA. This last country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this side the river *Ganges*, included between that river and the *Indus*, which now composes the dominions of the Great Mogul; the other part was that on the other side of the Ganges.

The remaining part of Asia, of which much greater mention is made in history, may be divided into five or six parts, taking it from east to west.

I. The GREATER ASIA, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are, GEDROSIA, CARMANIA, ARACHOSIA, DRANGIANA, BACTRIANA, the capital of which was *Bactria*; SOGDIANA, MARGIANA, HYRCANIA, near the Caspian sea; PARTHIA, MEDIA, the city *Ecbatana*; PERSIA, the cities of *Persepolis* and *Elymais*; SUSIANA, the city of *Susa*; ASSYRIA, the city of *Nineveh*, situated on the river *Tigris*; MESOPOTAMIA, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, BABYLONIA, the city of *Babylon*, on the river Euphrates.

II. ASIA BETWEEN THE PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN SEA. Therein we may distinguish four provinces. 1. COLCHIS, the river *Phasis*, and mount *Caucasus*. 2. IBERIA. 3. ALBANIA; which two last-mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater ARMENIA. This is separated from the lesser by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia by mount *Taurus*; and from Assyria by mount *Niphates*. Its cities are *Artazata* and *Tigranocerta*; and the river *Arazes* runs through it.

III. ASIA MINOR. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different situation of its provinces.

1. *Northward*, on the shore of the Pontus Euxinus; PONTUS, under three different names. Its cities are *Trapezus*, not far from which are the people called *Chalybes* or *Chaldæi*: *Themiscyra*, a city on the river *Thermodoon*, famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. PAPHLAGONIA, BITHYNIA; the cities of which are *Nicia*, *Prusa*, *Nicomedia*, *Chalcedon*, opposite to Constantinople, and *Heraclea*.

2. *Westward*, going down by the shores of the Ægean sea; MYZIA, of which there are two. The LESSER, in which stood *Cyzicus*, *Lampascus*, *Parium*, *Abydos* opposite to Sestos, from which it is separated only by the Dardanelles; *Dardanum*, *Sigeum*, *Ilion*, or *Troy*; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of *Tenedos*. The rivers are the *Arsepe*, the *Granicus*, and the *Simois*. Mount *Ida*. This region is sometimes called Phrygia Minor, of which *Troas* is part.

THE GREATER MYZIA. *Antandros*, *Trajanopolis*, *Adramyttium*, *Pergamus*. Opposite to this Mysia is the island of LESBOS; the cities of which are, *Methymna*, where the celebrated *Arion* was born; and

*Mitylene*, which has given to the whole island its modern name, *Metelin*.

**ÆOLIA.** *Elea, Cuma, Phocæa.*

**IONIA.** *Smyrna, Clazomænæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus.*

**CABIA.** *Laodicea, Antiochia, Magnesia, Alabanda.* The river *Mæander*.

**DORIS.** *Halicarnassus, Cnidos.*

Opposite to these four last countries are the islands **CHIOS, SAMOS, PATMOS, COS**; and lower towards the south, **RHODES**.

3. *Southward*, along the Mediterranean:

**LYCIA.** The cities of which are, *Telmessus, Patara.* The river *Xanthus*. Here begins mount *Taurus*, which runs the whole length of Asia, and assumes different names, according to the several countries through which it passes.

**PAMPHYLIA.** *Perga, Aspendus, Sida.*

**CILICIA.** *Seleucia, Corycium, Tarsus*, on the river *Cydnus*. Opposite to Cilicia is the island of *Cyprus*. The cities are *Salamis, Amathus*, and *Paphos*.

4. *Along the banks of the Euphrates*, going up northward:

**THE LESSER ARMENIA.** *Comana, Arabyza, Melitene, Satala.* The river *Melas*, which empties itself into the *Euphrates*.

5. *Inlands*:

**CAPPADOCIA.** The cities of which are, *Neocæsarea, Comana, Pontica, Sebastia, Sebastopolis, Diocæsarea, Cæsarea*, otherwise called *Masaca*, and *Tyana*.

**LYCAONIA and ISAURIA.** *Iconium, Isauria.*

**PISIDIA.** *Seleucia, and Antiochia of Pisidia.*

**LYDIA.** Its cities are, *Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia.* The rivers are, *Caystrus*, and *Hermus*, into which the *Pactolus* empties itself. Mount *Sipyllus* and *Tmolus*.

**PHRYGIA MAJOR.** *Synnada, Apamia.*

**IV. SYRIA**, now named *Suria*, called under the Roman Emperors, the East, the chief provinces of which are,

1. **PALESTINE**, by which name is sometimes understood all Judea. Its cities are, *Jerusalem, Samaria, and Cæsarea Palestina*. The river *Jordan* waters it. The name of Palestine is also given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which are, *Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Accaron, and Gath*.

2. **PHŒNICIA**, whose cities are, *Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus*. Its mountains, *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*.

3. **SYRIA**, properly so called, or **ANTIOCHENA**; the cities whereof are, *Antiochia, Apamia, Laodicea, and Seleucia*.

4. **COMAGENA.** The city of *Samosata*.

5. **CŒLOSYPRIA.** The cities are, *Zeugma, Thapsacus, Palmyra, and Damascus*.

**V. ARABIA PETRÆA.** Its cities are, *Petra* and *Bostra*. Mount *Casius*. **DESERTA. FELIX.**

## OF RELIGION.

It is observable, that in all ages and regions, the several nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one essential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a supreme Being, and of external methods necessary to evince such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, sacrifices, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to religious worship. In every people we discover a reverence and awe of the divinity; a homage and honour paid to him; and an open profession of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings and necessities, in all their adversities and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate futurity, and to ascertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon consulting the divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most solemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is this that gives sanction to their oaths; and to it, by imprecations, is referred the punishment of such crimes and enormities as escape the knowledge and power of men. On their private occasions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diseases, the divinity is still invoked. With him their every repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprise formed, without his aid being first implored; to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by public acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils, which they never fail to set apart as the indispensable right of the divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some few persons, depraved by false philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the public voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties or forming sects; the whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads; while they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the false reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a first principle, which pervades the nature of man; from an inherent sense implanted in his heart by the Author of his being, and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itself.

Such were the source and origin of the religion of the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of persisting in the purity and simplicity of these first principles: but the errors of the mind and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, have strangely disfigured their original beauty. There are still some faint rays, some brilliant sparks of light, which a general depravity has not been able utterly to extinguish; but they are inca-

pable of dispelling the profound darkness of the gloom which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view but absurdities, follies, extravagances, licentiousness, and disorder; in a word, a hideous chaos of frantic excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these maxims of Cicero?<sup>1</sup> That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world, and disposes of them as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conscious of whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by the use of riches and magnificence in his worship, but by presenting him with a heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious, were the result of the reflections of the few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some happy, though imperfect ideas. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feasts and ceremonies, the soul of the pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors; the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure for the imitation, as well as adoration of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality. It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the pagan religion, and in their most sacred and revered mysteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life; we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and sacrilegious worship, under the name and in a manner under the sanction of religion itself: as we shall soon see in the sequel.

After these general reflections upon paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles, which are, 1. The feasts. 2. The oracles, auguries, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public shows and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only what appears most worthy of the reader's curiosity, and has most relation to this history. I omit saying any thing of sacrifices, having given a sufficient idea of them elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sit hoc jam a principio persuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religionem colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem. Ad divos adeunto caste. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento. — Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 15 et 19.

<sup>2</sup> Manner of Teaching, &c., Vol. I.

## OF THE FEASTS.

AN infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens, of which I shall only describe three of the most famous; the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

## THE PANATHERNEA.

THIS feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city, to which she gave her name,<sup>1</sup> as well as to the feast we speak of. Its institution was ancient, and it was called at first Athenea; but after Theseus had united the several towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In these feasts were exhibited racing, the gymnastic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of music and poetry. Ten commissaries, elected from the ten tribes, presided on this occasion, to regulate the forms, and distribute the awards to the victors. This festival continued several days.

The first day in the morning, a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They started from Ceramicus, one of the suburbs of Athens, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon, they ran the same course on horseback.

The gymnastic or athletic combats followed the races. The place of that exercise was upon the banks of the Ilissus, a small river, which runs through Athens, and empties itself into the sea at the Piræus.

Pericles first instituted the prize of music. In this dispute were sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who, at the expense of their lives, delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides, to which was afterwards added the eulogy of Thrasybulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. These disputes were not only warm among the musicians, but much more so among the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æschylus is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein a sail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of Pallas against the Titans and giants. This sail was affixed to a vessel, which was called by the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails, and with a thousand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleusis, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive branches in their hands, *θαλασφόροι*; and these were chosen for the symmetry of their shape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age, also accompanied them in the same equipage.

The grown and robust men formed the second class. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers who inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, with other instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons of both sexes, and of the best families in the city. The youths wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and sang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddess. The maids carried baskets, in which were placed the sacred utensils proper for the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the sight of the spectators. The person, to whose care those sacred things were intrusted, was bound to observe a strict continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins;<sup>1</sup> or rather, as Demosthenes says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was a high honour for a young woman to be chosen for so noble and august an office, and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We find that Hipparchus treated the sister of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incensed the conspirators against the Pisistratides. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and seats for them.

The children of both sexes closed the pomp of the procession.

In this august ceremony, the *παῖδες* were appointed to sing certain verses of Homer; a manifest proof of their estimation of the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, first introduced this custom.

I have observed elsewhere, that in the gymnastic games of this feast, a herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician, Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal service which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

In this festival, the people of Athens put themselves, and the whole republic, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kinds of prosperity. From the battle of Marathon, in these public acts of worship, express mention was made of the Plateans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

#### FEASTS OF BACCHUS.

THE worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where several feasts had been established in honour of that god; two

<sup>1</sup> Οὐχι προσημαίνων ἑμαυτὸν ἐπιθμον ἔργεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ἅλον ἔργασσασθαι. — Demosth. in *extrema Aristocratia*.



particularly more remarkable than all the rest, called the great and the less feasts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named Lenea, from a Greek word that signifies a wine-press.<sup>1</sup> The great feasts were commonly called Dionysia, from one of the names of that god,<sup>2</sup> and were solemnized in the spring, within the city.

In each of these feasts the public were entertained with games, shows, and dramatic representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificence, as will be seen hereafter: at the same time the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators, expressly chosen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then represented before the people.

These feasts continued many days. Those who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy leaves twisted round it.

They had drums, horns, pipes, and other instruments proper to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some represented Silenus, some Pan, others the Satyrs, all dressed in a suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses; others dragged goats along, for sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> Men and women, ridiculously transformed in this manner, appeared night and day in public, and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent postures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously, the women especially seemed more outrageous than the men, and, quite out of their senses, in their furious transports,<sup>4</sup> invoked the god whose feast they celebrated with loud cries; *σοὶ Βάκχε*, or *ὦ Ἰάκχε*, or *Ἰόβακχε*, or *Ἰὼ Βάκχε*.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called *κανήφοροι*, from carrying baskets on their heads covered with vine and ivy leaves.

To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god who could be honoured in such a manner. The spectators gave into the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantic spirit. Nothing was seen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness could conceive of gross and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wisest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practised. I say an entire people; for Plato, speaking of the Bacchanals, says in direct terms, that he had seen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.<sup>5</sup>

Livy informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalians having secretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed

<sup>1</sup> Δηνῆς.    <sup>2</sup> Dionysius.    <sup>3</sup> Goats were sacrificed, because they spoiled the vines.

From this fury of the Bacchanalians, these feasts were distinguished by the name of *Οργία*, *Ὀργασμα*, *furor*.

<sup>5</sup> Πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἐπὶ τὰ Διονύσια ηὐδύσαν. — Lib. l. de Leg. p. 637.

there under the cover of the night; besides which, all persons, who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably secret. The senate, being apprised of the affair, put a stop to those sacrilegious feasts by the most severe penalties; and first banished the practisers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy.<sup>1</sup> These examples inform us, how far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the sacred name of the Divinity, is capable of misleading the mind of man.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE FEASTS OF ELEUSIS.

THERE is nothing in all the pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feast of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called, by way of eminence, the Mysteries, from being, according to Pausanias, as much above all others as the gods are above men. Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres herself, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughter Proserpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which she rewarded the inhabitants. She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called *θεσμοφύρια* and *Initia*. To these first happy lessons, fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable among the Athenians.<sup>3</sup>

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater, of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less was solemnized in the month Anthesterion, which answers to our November: the great in the month Boedromion, or August. Only Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them each sex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded, so that Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted as Athenians, in order to their admission; which however extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilissus, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in strict continence during an interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxxix. n. 5, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Nihil in speciem fallacis est quam prava religio, ubi decorum numen præstenditur sceleribus. — Liv. xxxix. n. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tunc peperisse, atque in vitam hominum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vitæ exculsi ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiæque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus. — Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 36.

Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longe maximis atque occultissimis ceremoniis continentur: a quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus, et civitatibus data ac dispersat. esse dicuntur — Id. Cic. in Verr. de Supplic. n. 186.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things passed upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendour dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, heightened the terror and amazement; while the person admitted, stupified, and sweating through fear, heard trembling the mysterious volumes read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites were attended with many disorders, which the severe law of silence, imposed on the person initiated, prevented from coming to light, as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes.<sup>1</sup> What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated! The president in this ceremony was called hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not permitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his successors were called Eumolpides. He had three colleagues; one who carried a torch;<sup>2</sup> another a herald, whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words;<sup>3</sup> and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed, to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king, and was one of the nine Archons.<sup>4</sup> His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants,<sup>5</sup> one chosen from the family of the Eumolpides, a second from that of the Ceryces, and the two last from two other families. He had, besides, ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices, from whence they derive their name.<sup>6</sup>

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddess to whose service they devoted themselves, and was the means of a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world: while, on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. <sup>7</sup> Diogenes the Cynic believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to persuade him to avoid such a misfortune, by being initiated before his death — “What,” said he, “shall Agesilaus and Epaminondas lie among mud and dung, while the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed?” Socrates was not more credulous; he would

*Οἷον Ἐλευσίης ταύτην, καὶ αἱ τῶν σωματείων καὶ σιωπῆς ὄνομα ἔξιδον ἰστένας.* — Orat. de Sacra Lumin

<sup>1</sup> Δαδύχης.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐρηφ.

<sup>3</sup> Βασιλεύς.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐπιμητῆται.

<sup>5</sup> Ἴεσοίται

<sup>6</sup> Diogen. Laert. l. vi. p. 289.

not be initiated into these mysteries, which was perhaps one cause of rendering his religion suspected.

Without this qualification, none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Arcananians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feast-days, although out of mistake, and with no ill design, were both put to death without mercy.' It was also a capital crime to divulge the secrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and had a reward set upon his head. He intended to have made the secret cost the poet Æschylus his life, for speaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The disgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. Whoever had violated the secret was avoided as a wretch accursed and excommunicated.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, in several passages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleusis, and the ceremonies practised there, stops short, and declares he cannot proceed, because he had been forbidden by a dream or vision.<sup>3</sup>

This feast, the most celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days' continuance. It began on the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After some previous ceremonies and sacrifices on the first three days, upon the fourth, in the evening, began the procession of *the Basket*; which was laid upon an open chariot slowly drawn by six oxen, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women.<sup>4</sup> They all carried mysterious baskets in their hands, filled with several things which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony represented the basket into which Proserpine put the flowers she was gathering when Pluto seized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of *the Torches*; because at night the men and women ran about with them, in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of Mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in search of her daughter.

The sixth was the most famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, the name of Bacchus, son of Jupiter and Ceres, whose statue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The procession began at Ceramicus, and passing through the principal parts of the city, continued to Eleusis. The way leading to it was called *the sacred way*, and lay across a bridge over the river Cephissus. This procession was very numerous, and generally consisted of thirty thousand persons.

The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude; and Strabo says, its extent was equal to that of the theatrea, which every body knows were capable of holding a much

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Est et fideli tuta silentio  
 Mœros. Vectabo, qui Cereris sacrum  
 Vulgarit arcana, sub liedem  
 Sit Trabibus, fragilemque mecum  
 Solvat phaselum.

Her. Od. 2. lib. iii.

Safe is the silent tongue, which none can blame:  
 The faithful secret merit fame:  
 Beneath one roof ne'er let him rest with me,  
 Who Ceres' mysteries reveals;  
 In one frail bark ne'er let us put to sea,  
 Nor tempt the jarring winds with spreading  
 sails.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. l. p. 26, and 71.

<sup>4</sup> Tardaue Eleusinae matris volventis plaustra.  
 Virg. Georg. lib. l. ver. 163.

The Eleusinian mother's mystic car  
 Slow rolling—

greater number of people.<sup>1</sup> The whole way resounded with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The route before mentioned, through the sacred way and over the Cephissus, was the usual way: but after the Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponnesian war, had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnastic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley; without doubt, because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival, it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years: and no history observes that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve, in so general an affliction, to solemnize a festival which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing.<sup>3</sup> It was continued down till the time of the Christian emperors; and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great; as were all the rest of the pagan solemnities.

#### OF AUGURIES, ORACLES, &c.

NOTHING is more frequently mentioned in ancient history, than oracles, auguries, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being first consulted. This was a custom universally established among the Egyptian, Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, of its being derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned, but that God before the deluge did manifest his will to mankind in different methods, as he has since done to his people, sometimes in his own person, and *viva voce*, sometimes by the ministry of angels, or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the descendants of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of idolatry. None of the ancients have insisted

<sup>1</sup> Hor. l. viii. c. 65. Strabo, l. ix. p. 395. <sup>2</sup> Plut. in Vit. Alex. p. 671. <sup>3</sup> Zozim. Hist. l. iv.

more upon the necessity of consulting the gods on all occasions by augurs and oracles, than Xenophon, and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents, in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him; so narrow and short-sighted is he, in all his views, that the slightest obstacles can frustrate his greatest designs; that the Divinity alone, to whom all ages are present, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprises; and that it is reasonable to believe he will guide and protect those who adore him with the most sincere affection, who invoke him at all times with the greatest confidence and fidelity, and consult him with most sincerity and resignation.

## OF AUGURIES.

WHAT a reproach it is to human reason, that so luminous a principle should have given birth to the absurd reasonings and wretched notions in favour of the science of augurs and soothsayers, and been the occasion of espousing with blind devotion the most ridiculous puerilities; should have made the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to sing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain; the inspection of the entrails of beasts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which, according to them, did sometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added, accidental rencounters, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad presages; forebodings, prodigies, monsters, eclipses, comets, every extraordinary phenomenon, every unforeseen accident, with an infinity of chimeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men, illustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers, have actually given in to such absurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitied for his servile observance of the senseless customs of the pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs, and prodigies. He tells us somewhere, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs, upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us farther acquainted.<sup>1</sup>

The wisest of the pagans did not want a just sense of the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmost contempt, and in a manner sufficiently expressive of its ridicule. The grave censor was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias, whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the entrails of a victim. 'What,' said he, "have you more confidence in the liver of a beast.

<sup>1</sup> Sympos. lib. II. Quæst. 3. p. 635.

than in so old and experienced a captain as I am?" Marcellus, who had been five times consul, and was augur, said, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the sinister flight of birds, which was, to keep himself close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himself upon augury without ambiguity or reserve. Nobody was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself (as M. Morin observes in his dissertation upon the same subject.) As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himself acquainted with the most concealed of their secrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himself fully in their science. That he did so, sufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be said he has exhausted the subject. In his second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he disputes and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a railery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs, that rise upon each other in their force, the falsity, contrariety, and impossibility of that art.<sup>1</sup> But what is very surprising, in the midst of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the general and magistrates, who on important conjectures, had contemned the prognostics; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his own opinion, ought nevertheless to be respected, out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto said, tends to prove, that paganism was divided into two sects, almost equally enemies of religion: the one by their superstitious and blind regard for the augurs, and the other by their irreligious contempt and derision of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the prescience of the Divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the consequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, false and absurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain the Divinity himself had established these external signs, to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions; but they had nothing of this kind in their system. Augury and soothsaying, therefore, were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions of man, who presumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give answers upon every idle imagination and unjust enterprise.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the science of the augurs, did not fail, however, to observe their trivial ceremonies, out of policy, for the better subjecting the minds of the people to themselves, and to reconcile them to their own purposes by the assistance of superstition: but by their contempt for auguries, and the entire conviction of their falsity, they were led into a disbelief of the Divine Providence, and to despise religion itself; conceiving it

<sup>1</sup> Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel usu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reip. mos, religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius consules, qui contra auspicia navigarunt. Parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus.—Divin. l. 1. n. 70, 71.

inseparable from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and consequently unworthy a man of sense.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, because, having mistaken the Creator, and abused the light of nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to their own darkness and absurd opinions; and, if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourselves up to the same superstitions.

#### OF ORACLES.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles, than Greece. I shall confine myself to those which were the most noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave answers, either by vocal oaks, or doves, which had also their language, or by resounding basins of brass, or by the mouths of priests and priestesses.<sup>1</sup>

The oracle of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was a mere hero, was in great reputation.<sup>2</sup> After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering sacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave, by small ladders, through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern, of which the entrance was also very small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no sooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the same manner. Some saw, others heard wonders. From thence they returned quite stupefied and out of their senses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosyne, goddess of memory; not without great need of her assistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had seen and heard; admitting they had seen or heard any thing at all. Pausanias, who had consulted that oracle himself, and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it, to which Plutarch adds some particular circumstances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.<sup>3</sup>

The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ,<sup>4</sup> in the neighbourhood of Miletus, so called from Branchus, the son of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the priests had delivered its treasures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an establishment in the remotest part of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians

<sup>1</sup> Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which being shaken by the wind, or by some other means, gave a confused sound. Servius observes, that the same word in the Thessalian language signifies *dove* and *prophets*, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make those brassen basins sound by some secret means, and to give what signification they pleased to a confused and inarticulate noise

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. l. ix. p. 202, 604.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 590

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 167. Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.



re-established that temple, with a magnificence which, according to Strabo, surpassed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city where the priests Branchidæ had settled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the sacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

Tacitus relates something very singular, though not very probable, of the oracles of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near Colophon. "Germanicus," says he, "went to consult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman who gives the answers there, as at Delphos, but a man chosen out of certain families, and almost always of Miletus. It suffices to let him know the number and names of those who come to consult him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drank of the waters of a spring within it, he delivers answers in verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of composing in measure. It is said, that he foretold to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the custom of oracles."<sup>1</sup>

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is obvious that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worshipped there under the name of the Pythian, a title derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word that signifies to *inquire*, *ὑπιθῆναι*, because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphic priestess was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated, the Pythian games.

Delphos was an ancient city of Phocia in Achaia. It stood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and surrounded with precipices, which fortified it without the help of art. Diodorus says, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation rose, which made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain.<sup>2</sup> A shepherd having approached it, out of a desire to know the causes of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately seized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not understand himself; but which, however, foretold futurity. Others made the same experiment, and it was soon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have something divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins *Corintina*, perhaps from the skin that covered it.<sup>3</sup> From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphos rose insensibly round about this cave, where a temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded, that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to

<sup>1</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. xiv. p. 427, 428.

<sup>3</sup> Corium.

mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death or disease. There were other assistants besides these, to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets;<sup>1</sup> it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to inspect the victims. To these the demands of the inquirers were delivered, either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphos. The ancients represent the latter as a woman that roved from country to country, uttering her predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Oumæ, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not that effect at all times, and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great, worthy of remark. He went to Delphos to consult the god, at a time when the priestess pretended it was forbidden to ask him any questions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, *Ah, my son, you are not to be resisted! or, my son, you are invincible!*<sup>2</sup> Upon which words, he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with what he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple, which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon as the divine vapour,<sup>3</sup> like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the symptoms of distraction and frenzy.<sup>4</sup> She uttered at intervals some words

<sup>1</sup> Προφῆται.

<sup>2</sup> *Αὐτινοῖρο σὺ, ὦ υἱέ!*

<sup>3</sup> ————— Cui talia fanti

Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,  
Non comæ mansere comæ; sed pectus anhelum,  
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,  
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est numine quando  
Jam propiore dei.

Virg. *Æn.* l. vi. v. 46—51.

<sup>4</sup> Among the various marks which God has given us in the Scriptures to distinguish his oracles from those of the devil, the fury or madness, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, "et rabie fera corda tument," is one. It is I, says God, that show the falsehood of the diviner's predictions, and give to such as divine the motions of fury and madness; or, according to Isa. xlv. 25, "that frustrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad." Instead of which, the prophets of the true God constantly give the divine answers in an equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another distinguishing mark is, the demons giving their oracles in secret places, by-ways, and in the obscurity of caves; whereas God gave his in open day, and before all the world: "I have not spoken in secret,

almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After she had been a certain time upon the tripod, she was re-conducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days, to recover from her fatigue; and as Lucretius says, a sudden death was often either the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup>

"Numinis aut pœna est mors immatura recepti,  
Aut pretium."

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprising that Apollo, who presided over the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophetess no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connexion, and coming only by starts; to use that expression,<sup>2</sup> from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which, though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own; the oracles were, however, often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility, to use that expression, so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite events.<sup>3</sup> By the help of this artifice, the demons, who of themselves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the pagan world. When Croesus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the success of that war, and was answered, that by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus:

*Alto te, Mœcila, Romanos vincere posse.*

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, or the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must, however, be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have related in the history of

in a dark place of the earth." Isa. xlv. 19. "I have not spoken in secret from the beginning." Isa. xlviii. 10. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him, as might distinguish between the true and false inspiration.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐγγαστρίμυθος.*

<sup>3</sup> Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse prædicta; hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati, et sic sententias temperarint, ut, seu boni seu mali quid acciderit, utrumque possit intelligi Hieronym. in cap. xlii. Isaiæ. He cites the two examples of Croesus and Pyrrhus.

Croesus, the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was to demand of it, by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass, which was really so.<sup>1</sup> The emperor Trajan made a similar trial of the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter sealed up, to which he demanded an answer.<sup>2</sup> The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had written nothing. The wonderful facility with which demons can transfer themselves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two related answers, and seem to foretell in one country what they had seen in another; this is Tertulian's opinion.<sup>3</sup>

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precisely by the events foretold, we may believe that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the pagans, has sometimes permitted demons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretell them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehension, is frequently attested in the holy Scriptures.

It has been questioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane history, should be ascribed to the operations of demons, or only to the malignity and imposture of men. Vandale, a Dutch physician, has maintained the latter; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the persuasion, to use his own words, that it was indifferent, as to the truth of Christianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of spirits, or a series of impostures. Father Baltus, the Jesuit, professor of the holy Scriptures in the university of Stratsburg, has refuted them both in a very solid treatise, wherein he demonstrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that the demons were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and success, the rashness and presumption of the anabaptist physician, who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of the holy doctors, absolutely endeavours to efface the high idea which all true believers have of those great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is so great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradition. Now if that was ever certain and uniform in any thing, it is so in this point; for all the fathers of the church, and ecclesiastical writers of every age, maintain and attest, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not prevent our believing, that the priests and

<sup>1</sup> Macrob. l. l. Saturnal. c. xxlii.

<sup>2</sup> One method of consulting the oracle was by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

<sup>3</sup> Omnis spiritus ales. Hoc et Angeli et demones. Igitur momente ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Castorum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo supra diximus. Momento apud Lydiam fuerat.—Tertul. in Apolog.

priestesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In Grecian history we have seen more than once the Delphic priestess suffer herself to be corrupted by presents. It was from that motive she persuaded the Lacedæmonians to assist the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity, to make way for Cleomenes; and dressed up an oracle to support the imposture of Lysander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by sea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, *to defend themselves with walls of wood*.<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently suggested by passion or interest, and suspecting, with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour, boldly declared that the Pythia *philippized*, and bade the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to, and amusing themselves with, the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly, consulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The same father Baltus examines, with equal success, the cessation of oracles, a second point in the dispute. Mr. Vandale, to oppose with some advantage a truth so glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, had falsified the sense of the fathers, by making them say, *that oracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth*. The learned apologist for the fathers shows, that all they allege is, that oracles did not cease till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion as his salutary doctrines became known to mankind, and gained ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the Christian religion was this silence imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ! Every Christian had this power. Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the pagans to make the experiment, and consents that a Christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige these givers of oracles to confess themselves devils.<sup>2</sup> Lactantius informs us, that every Christian could silence them by the sign of the cross.<sup>3</sup> And all the world knows, that when Julian the Apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo, the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to answer those who inquired the cause of his silence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the bodies of Christian martyrs, among which was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Christian religion ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and, at the same time, of the darkness to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Demosth. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Tertull. in Apolog.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. de Vera Sapient. c. xxvii.

seen among the Carthaginians, fathers and mothers more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and false gods.<sup>1</sup> The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of sacrifices, and designed to make the gods propitious. "What greater evil," cries Lactantius, "could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides!"

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles, which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the minds of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally among the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation they were in may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immense riches amassed in it, through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphyctions, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it.<sup>2</sup> They agreed with an architect for 300 talents, which amounts to 900,000 livres.<sup>3</sup> The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and collected contributions in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that purpose. Amasis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcæonidæ, a potent family of Athens, were charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent, by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges, king of Lydia, and Cræsus, one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vessels, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold which Cræsus alone made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus,<sup>4</sup> to upwards of 254 talents, that is, about 762,000 French livres;<sup>5</sup> and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of these presents were exist-

<sup>1</sup> Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuisse homines, ut parricidium suum, id est tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, sacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maximæ est setas parentibus dulcior, sine ullo respectu pietatis extinguerunt, immanitatemque omnium bestiarum, quæ tamen fœtus suos amant, feritate superarent. O demeritam insanabilem! Quid illis læti dii amplius facere possent, si essent iratusimi, quam faciant proptitil? Cum suos cultores parricidiis inquinant, orbitatibus mactant, humanis sensibus spoliant.—Lactant. l. i. c. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 180. And l. v. c. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 56, 51.

<sup>4</sup> About \$197,260.

<sup>5</sup> About \$140,970.

ing in the time of Herodotus. Diodorus Siculus,<sup>1</sup> adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres.<sup>2</sup>

Among the statues of gold, consecrated by Croesus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker;<sup>3</sup> the occasion of which was this: Alyattus, Croesus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she laid a plan to get rid of her son-in-law, that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose, she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime, in which she ought to have had no part at all, gave Croesus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude that a person of so mean a condition could deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative; and with a much better title, he says, than many of the so much vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

It is not surprising that such immense riches should tempt the avarice of mankind, and expose Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above a hundred years after, the Phoceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece, under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe historians, sometimes defended this temple by surprising prodigies; and at others, either from impotence or confusion, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo, (those of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach,) he ordered them to be taken down and, shipping them on board his vessels, carried them with him to Rome.

Those who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may consult some dissertations upon this subject printed in the memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*,<sup>4</sup> of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

#### OF THE GAMES AND COMBATS.

GAMES and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the ancients; and for that reason, it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we consider their

<sup>1</sup> Diad. l. xvi. p. 453.

Plat. de Pyth. Orac. p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> About \$5,772,000.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III.

origin, or the design of their institution, we shall not be surprised at their being so much practised in the best governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor, and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, were not only the institutors or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein. The subduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no disgrace to them to aspire to the victories in these combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled on the solemnization of these games, took any lustre from those they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the subject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, while it immortalized themselves, seemed to promise an eternity of fame to those whose victories it so divinely celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardour which animated all Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and, like them, to signalize themselves in the public combats.

A reason more solid, which results from the nature of these combats, and of the people who used them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced these exercises, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger sort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close fight, in which, the use of fire-arms being then unknown, the strength of body generally decided the victory. These athletic exercises supplied the place of those in use among our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c.; but they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face; they were for joining strength to the charms of person.

It is true, these exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and so useful in the ends at first proposed from them, introduced public masters, who taught them to young persons, and, practising them with success, made public show and ostentation of their skill. This sort of men applied themselves solely to the practice of this art, and, carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements, often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people, who, without any other employment of merit, exhibited themselves as a sight for the diversion of the public. Our dancing-masters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original designation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address; but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making a variety of strange unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the ancients had of their professed combatants and wrestling masters.

There were four kinds of games solemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympius. The *Pythic*, sacred to Apollo



Pythius,<sup>1</sup> so called from the serpent Python killed by him; they were celebrated at Delphos every four years. The *Nemæan*, which took their name from Nemæ, a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had slain the lion of the Nemæan forest. They were solemnized every two years. And lastly, the *Isthmian*, celebrated upon the isthmus of Corinth, every four years, in honour of Neptune. Theseus was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth.<sup>2</sup> That persons might be present at these public sports with greater quiet and security, there was a general suspension of arms, and cessation of hostilities, throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was composed of wild olive; in the Pythic, of laurel; in the Nemæan, of green parsley;<sup>3</sup> and in the Isthmian, of the same herb dried. The institutors of these games implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and sordid interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle?<sup>4</sup> We have seen, in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius who commanded in chief, *Heavens! against what men are you leading us? insensible to interest, they combat only for glory!*<sup>5</sup> Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgment.

It was from the same principle the Romans, while they bestowed upon other occasions, crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who had saved the life of a citizen. "O manners, worthy of eternal remembrance!" cried Pliny, in relating this laudable custom; "O grandeur, truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service, indeed, above all reward; thereby sufficiently evincing their opinion, that it was criminal to save a man's life from the motive of lucre and interest!"<sup>6</sup> *O mores æternos, que tanta opera honore solo donaverint; et cum reliquis coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint, clara professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causa!*

Among all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the first rank, and that for three reasons: they were sacred to Jupiter, the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators, attracted from all parts, than any of the rest.

If Pausanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present

<sup>1</sup> Several reasons are given for this name.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. l. ii. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Apium.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. viii. c. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Παναί Μαρδόνι, κείνους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἡγάγας μαχησομένους, ἡμέας, οἱ δὲ περὶ χρίσμα. τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. l. xvi. c. 4.

at them upon pain of death; and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or pass on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law, and slipped in disguise among the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered for it, according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence and saved her life.<sup>1</sup>

This law was perfectly conformable to the Grecian manners, among whom the ladies were very reserved, seldom appeared in public, had separate apartments, called *Gynæcea*, and never ate at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling, and the Pancratiun, in which the combatants fought naked.

The same Pausanias tells us in another place, that the priestess of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them.<sup>2</sup> For my part, I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. Cicero assures us, that with them it was no less honourable than the consular dignity in its original splendour with the ancient Romans.<sup>3</sup> And in another place he says, that to conquer at Olympia was almost, in the estimation of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome.<sup>4</sup> Horace speaks in still stronger terms upon this kind of victory. He is not afraid to say, that *it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men but gods.*<sup>5</sup>

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardless of expenses, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added, the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and share in the entertainment of the most illustrious assemblies; for these odes were sung in every house, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory?

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. l. v. p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. l. vi. p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Olympiorum victoria, Græcis consulatus ille antiquus videbatur. — Tuscul. Quest. lib. II. n. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Olympicum esse apud Græcis prope majus fuit et gloriosus, quam Romæ triumphasse. — Pro Flacco, cum. xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> ————Palmaque nobilis

Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.

Sive quos Elea domum reducit

Palma Cælestes.

Hor. Od. i. lib. 1.

Hor. Od. ii. lib. 4.

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were composed. M. Burette has treated this subject in several dissertations, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of style, are united with profound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren; and in what I have already said upon the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbé Massieu's remarks upon the odes of Pindar.

The combats which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the public games, were boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, the discus or quoit, and racing. To these may be added the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as these were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I shall content myself with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account

#### OF THE ATHLETÆ, OR COMBATANTS.

THE term *athletæ* is derived from the Greek word ἀθλος, which signifies labour, combat. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with design to dispute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called *gymnastic*, from the *athletæ* practising naked.

Those who were designed for this profession, frequented, from their most tender age, the *Gymnasia* or *Palæstræ*, which were a kind of academies maintained, for that purpose, at the public expense. In these places, such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to train them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread called μάζα. They were absolutely forbidden the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus:

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam  
 Multa talit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit,  
 Abstulit venere et vino.

Who in the Olympic race the prize would gain,  
 Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain;  
 Excess of heat and cold has often try'd,  
 Love's softness banish'd, and the glass deny'd.\*

St. Paul, by an allusion to the *athletæ*, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated, to a sober and penitent life. *Those who strive*, says he, *for the mastery, are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, we an incorruptible.* Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made

\* Art. Poet. v. 412.

the *athletæ* endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual denial and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed upon themselves of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions.<sup>1</sup> It is true, the *athletæ* did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The *athletæ*, before their exercises, were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occasion of sacrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The *athletæ* were only naked in some exercises, as wrestling, boxing, the *pancratium*, and the foot-race. They practised a kind of noviciate in the *Gymnasia* for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the *athletæ* who were to appear in them were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required. As to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No foreigner was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him till he had proved in due form, his family originally descended from the Argives.

The persons who presided in the games, called *Agonothetæ*, *Athlothetæ*, and *Hellanodiceæ*, registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games, a herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the established orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence, were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim so generally received elsewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats.<sup>2</sup> The address of a combatant expert in all the niceties of his art, who knows how to shift and ward dexterously, to put the change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to van-

<sup>1</sup> *Nempe enim et athletæ segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut robori ædificando vacent; continentur a luxuria, a cibis lætioribus, a potu jucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur. — Tertul. ad Martyr.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dolus an virtus, quis in nocte requirat?*

quish his competitor. Those who disputed the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exercised themselves.

#### WRESTLING.

WRESTLING is one of the most ancient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves. Jacob supported the angel's attack so vigorously, that the latter, perceiving that he could not throw so rough a wrestler, was induced to make him lame, by touching the sinew of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.<sup>1</sup>

Wrestling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles, having more share in it, than address and skill. Theseus was the first that reduced it to method, and refined it with the rules of art. He was also the first who established the public schools called *Palæstræ*, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it.

The wrestlers before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, by making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palæstræ*, sometimes by throwing a fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in the *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, the wrestlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed to this purpose: they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, seizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art, was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says, in his *Pseudolus*, speaking of wine, *He is a dangerous wrestler, he presently takes one by the heels.*<sup>2</sup> The Greek terms *ὑποδαλιζέειν* and *καταπιζέειν*, and the Latin word *supplantare*, seem to imply, that one of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give him a fall.

In this manner, the *athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler who was down drew his adversary along with him, either

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Captat pedes primum, luctator dolosus est.*

by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter and confess himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling called *Ἀχρηχρησμός*, from the *athletæ's* using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted in intermingling their fingers and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and Statius, in his *Thebaid*, that of Tydeus and Agylleus.<sup>1</sup>

The wrestlers of greatest reputation among the Greeks, were Milo of Crotona, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon Mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time, having seized a bull by one of his hinder legs, the beast could not get loose without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipped his horses in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus, king of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was desirous of seeing him, and invited him to Susa. Three soldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band which the Persians call *immortal*, esteemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

#### OF BOXING, OR THE CESTUS.

BOXING is a combat at blows with the fist, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fists with a kind of offensive arms, called *cestus*, and their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The *cestus* was a kind of gauntlet or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead or iron. Their use was to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the *athletæ* came immediately to the most violent blows, and began their charge in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours passed in harassing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoid-

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. l. xxiii. v. 703, &c. *Ovid. Metam.* l. ix. v. 31, &c. *Phars.* l. iv. v. 612. *Stat.* . vi. v. 947

ing or parrying the blows made at them. When a combatant came to throw himself with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a surprising address in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted by the length of the combat would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce, upon which the battle was suspended for some minutes, that were employed in recovering from their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed; after which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakness, or by swooning away, explained that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself vanquished.

Boxing was one of the most rude and dangerous of the gymnastic combats; because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened, except the vanquished person persisted in not acknowledging his defeat: yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, several descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Appollonius Rhodius, the same battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus: and in Statius, and Valerius Flaccus, of several other combatants.<sup>1</sup>

#### OF THE PANCRATIUM.

THE pancratium was so called from two Greek words,<sup>2</sup> which signify that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of wrestlers; but in the pancratium, it was not only allowed to make use of all the grips and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rough and dangerous. A pancratist in the Olympic games (called Arrichion, or Arrachion,) perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the throat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter at the very instant Arrichion himself expired. The agonothetæ crowned Arrichion, though dead, and proclaimed him victor.

<sup>1</sup> Dioscor. Idyl. xxii. Argonaut. lib. ii. Æneid. l. v. Thebaid. l. vii. Argonaut. l. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Πάγκρατος.

Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting, which represented this combat.

#### OF THE DISCUS, OR QUOIT.

THE discus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood, but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal, as iron or brass. Those who used this exercise were called discoboli, that is, flingers of the discus. The epithet *καταστάς*, which signifies *borne upon the shoulders*, given to this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shows, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burden any length of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make men more capable of supporting the weight and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, fascines, palisades, or in scaling the walls, when, to equal the height of them, several of the besiegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The athletes, in hurling the discus, put themselves into the posture best adapted to add force to their cast. They advanced one foot, upon which, leaning the whole weight of their bodies, they poised the discus in their hands, and then whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigour of the discharge. He that threw the discus farthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the discoboli, have left posterity many master-pieces in their several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finished with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: *What can be more finished*, says he, *or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the discus, than the Discobolus of Myron?*<sup>1</sup>

#### OF THE PENTATHLUM.

THE Greeks gave this name to an exercise composed of five others. It is the common opinion, that those five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the discus. It is believed that this sort of combat was decided in one day, and sometimes the same morning; and that the prize, which was single, could not be given but to the victor in all those exercises.

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin, at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a soidier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in throwing the spear and dart.

<sup>1</sup> Quid tam distortum et elaboratum, quam est ille Discobolus Myronis? — Quintil. lib. II. cap. 13.



## OF RACES.

Of all the exercises which the *athletæ* cultivated with so much pains and industry, to enable them to appear in the public games, running was in the highest estimation, and held the foremost rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were solemnized at first with no other exercise.

The place where the *Athletæ* exercised themselves in running, was generally called the *stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the list or course for these games was at first but one stadium in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the stadium,<sup>1</sup> whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included, not only the space in which the *athletæ* ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnastic games. The place where the *athletæ* contended was called *scamma*, from its lying lower than the rest of the stadium, on each side of which, and at its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable part of the stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course, from whence the competitors started, was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the racers to start.

The middle of the stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. St. Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. *As the judges, says he, in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them.*<sup>2</sup>

At the extremity of the stadium was a goal where the foot-races ended; but in those of the chariots and horses they were to run several times round it, without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremities of the lists, from whence they started.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot-race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural, and ancient.

<sup>1</sup> The stadium was a land-measure among the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 149, six hundred feet in extent. Pliny says, lib. ii. c. 23, that it was six hundred and twenty-five. Those two authors perhaps agree, considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides which, the length of the stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. iv. in *Matth.* c. 16.

• I. OF THE FOOT-RACE.

THE runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. While they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper.<sup>1</sup> They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making short excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal being given, they flew towards the goal, with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eye, which was solely to decide the victory; for the agonistic laws prohibited, under the penalty of infamy, the attaining it by any foul method.

In the simple race, the extent of the stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in first. In the race called *Διαυλος*, the competitors ran twice that length; that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called *Δολιχος*, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and was composed of several *diaui*. Sometimes it consisted of twenty-four stadia backward and forward, turning twelve times around the goal.

There were runners in ancient times, as well among the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated for their swiftness. <sup>2</sup> Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty stadia<sup>3</sup> between Athens and Lacedæmon in the space of two days, till Anystis, of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, went twelve hundred stadia<sup>4</sup> in one day, from Sicyon to Elis. These runners were denominated *ημεροδρομας*, as we find in that passage of Herodotus<sup>5</sup> which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate of Fonteius and Vipsanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran seventy-five thousand paces<sup>6</sup> between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and sixty thousand paces<sup>7</sup> in the circus. Our wonder at such a prodigious speed will increase, continues he,<sup>8</sup> if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four-and-twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces,<sup>9</sup> and he changed his carriage three times,<sup>10</sup> and went with the utmost diligence.

<sup>1</sup> Tunc rite citatos

Explorant, ac uantque gradus, variasque per artes

Instimulant docto languentia membra tumulta.

Poplite nunc flexo sidunt, nunc lubrica forti

Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt

Crura, breuemque fugam nec opino sine reponunt.

Stat. Theb. lib. vi. v. 587, &c.

They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts;

Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.

Now with bent hams, amidst the practised crowd,

They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud;

Now a short flight with fiery steps they trace,

And with a sudden stop abridge the mimic race.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. vii. c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Fifty-seven leagues.

<sup>4</sup> Sixty leagues.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. l. vi. c. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Thirty leagues.

<sup>7</sup> More than 53 leagues.

<sup>8</sup> Val. Max. l. v. c. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Sixty-seven leagues

<sup>10</sup> He had only a guide and one officer with him.

## II. OF THE HORSE-RACES.

THE race of a single horse with a rider was less celebrated by the ancients, yet it had its favourers among the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of Κέλης, that is, *victor in the horse-race*; which name was given to the horses carrying only a single rider, Κέλητες. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called *desultorii*, and their riders *desultores*; because, after a number of turns in the stadium, they changed horses, by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprising address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which made the leap still more difficult. Among the African troops there were also cavalry called *desultores*, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required, and these were generally Numidians.<sup>1</sup>

## III. OF THE CHARIOT-RACES.

THIS kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider whence it arose. It is plain that it was derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a custom, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practise it very much, in order to succeed. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots, ennobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all those who presented themselves in the Olympic games to dispute the prize in the chariot-races, were persons considerable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves eagerly aspired to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor in these games was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the splendours of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionysius, who

<sup>1</sup> Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam, in recentem equum ex fesso armatis, transalrare mos erit, tanta velocitas ipsi, tamque docile equorum genus est. — Liv. lib. xxiii.

reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stamped upon his coins, and seemed as much gratified with them, as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. All the world knows the answer of Alexander the Great on this subject, when his friends asked him whether he would dispute the prize of the races in these games? *Yes*, said he, *if kings were to be my antagonists.*<sup>1</sup> Which shows that he would not have disdained these contests, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses abreast; *bigæ, quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules supplied the places of horses, and then the chariot was called *ἀστυν*. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horses, *εἰσβησσῶ*; another by one drawn by mules, *ἀστυν*; and the third by a single horse, *ἑλάτη*, which the title of the ode expresses.

These chariots, upon a signal given, started together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance to the victory; for as they were to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than those on the right, which in consequence had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The chief art consisted in taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary; for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might pass inside of him, and get foremost.

It is obvious that these chariot-races could not be run without some danger; for as the motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerously wounded the charioteer.<sup>2</sup> An example of which we find in the *Electra* of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of a chariot-race run by ten competitors. The false Orestes, at the twelfth and last round, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was so unfortunate as to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his seat entangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forward along with them, and tore him to pieces; but this very seldom happened. To avoid such danger, Nestor gave the following directions to his son Antiloehus, who was going to dispute the prize in the chariot-races. "My son," says he, "drive your horses as near as possible to the goal; for which reason, always inclining your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, give him the rein, while the near horse, hard held, turns the boundary so close to it, that the nave of the wheel

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.*

Horat. Od. 1 lib. 1.

The goal shunn'd by the burning wheels.

seems to graze upon it; but have a care of running against the stone, lest you wound your horses and dash the chariot in pieces."<sup>1</sup>

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion, of much importance in regard to the places of those who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all started, indeed, from the same line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other; but he whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c., especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage, twelve times together, as it must happen, admitting the stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems, that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds, either by getting before the first, or by taking his place, if not in the first, at least, in some of the subsequent rounds; for it is not to be supposed, that in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order in which they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required that those who aspired to the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or even sending their horses thither, was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single horse races.

At the time that the city of Potidæa surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

Hiero sent horses to Olympia, to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equestrian races.<sup>3</sup>

No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece so far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots which he kept only for the races. There never was either

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *Iliad*. l. xxiii. v. 334, &c.    <sup>2</sup> Plat. in *Alex.* p. 666.    <sup>3</sup> Plat. in *Themist.* p. 124.

private person or king that sent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him.<sup>1</sup> The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preserved a fragment in *Vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a sumptuous feast to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of the spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend how the wealth of a private person should suffice for so enormous an expense; but Antithenes, the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he saw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in emulation with each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence; equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines; in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train. The passage is remarkable; for the same author assures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or sea. "Wherever," says he, "Alcibiades travelled, he made use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians; Chios took care to provide for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with sacrifices, and provisions for his table; and Lesbos gave him wine, with all the other necessaries for his house."

I must not omit, in speaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained. Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus king of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed conqueror in the race of chariots with four horses.<sup>2</sup> This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all possible splendour.<sup>3</sup> A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cynisca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse.<sup>4</sup> She herself dedicated a chariot of brass, drawn by four horses, in the temple of Delphos, in which the charioteer was also represented; a certain proof that she did not drive it herself.<sup>5</sup> In process of time, the picture of Cynisca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inscriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.<sup>6</sup>

#### OF THE HONOURS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO THE VICTORS.

THESE honours and rewards were of several kinds. The acclamations of the spectators in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the rewards designed them. These rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hand; which custom according to Plutarch arose, perhaps, from the nature of the

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. l. iii. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Pag. 288.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. l. iii. p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> Id. l. v. p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. l. vi. p. 344.

palm-tree, which displays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the champion's courage and resistance in the attainment of the prize.<sup>1</sup> As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium, and proclaimed aloud the name and country of the successful champion, who passed in that kind of review before the people, while they redoubled their acclamations and applauses at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry, not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts made for the victors, their relations and friends, either at the expense of the public, or by particular persons, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. Alcibiades, after having sacrificed to the Olympic Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly.<sup>2</sup> Leophron did the same, as Athenæus reports; who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, he caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, pieces of which were given to every person present.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most honourable privileges granted to the athletic victors, was the right of precedence at the public games. At Sparta it was a custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which, with reason, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which advantage was united with honour, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expense of their country.<sup>4</sup> That this charge might not become too expensive to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachms;<sup>5</sup> in the Isthmian to a hundred;<sup>6</sup> and in the rest in proportion. The victor and his country considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first cares of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe, in the public register, the name and country of the athlete who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference over all other games. From whence the historians, who date occurrences by the Olympiads,

<sup>1</sup> Sympos. l. viii. quæst. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Alcib. p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> About \$47.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. i. p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> About \$9.

as Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious athletes were, among the Greeks, one of the principal subjects of the lyric poetry. We find that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants signalized themselves whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter, by calling into the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the gods and heroes, with those of the champions whose victories he sang. It is related upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiated in a long digression to the honour of Castor and Pollux.<sup>1</sup> Scopas, satisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him, however, only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated so well. And in fact he was well paid by them, if we may believe the sequel: for, at the feast given by the champion, while the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and desired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarce set his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion with all his guests to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expense of their country. Among the statues which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses to whose swiftness they were indebted for the agonistic crown; and Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstripped all the rest, and upon the sound of the trumpets, which was usual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal, and, as if she had been sensible that she had gained the victory, presented herself before the judges of the games. The Eleans declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself, and the mare that had served him so well.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic. Orat. l. ii. n. 352, 353. Phœd. l. ii. Fab. 24. Quintil. l. xi. c. 2.    <sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. p. 369



THE DIFFERENT TASTE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, IN REGARD TO PUBLIC SHOWS.

BEFORE I make an end of these remarks upon the combats and games, so much in estimation among the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a reflection which may serve to explain the difference of character between the Greeks and the Romans with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied the grateful spectacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the savage pleasure of seeing men murder one another in cold blood; and in the times of the persecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness are apt to excite compassion in the hardest hearts.

In Greece these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into some cities, after their subjection to the Roman people. The Athenians, however, whose distinguishing characteristics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city;<sup>1</sup> and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, *First throw down*, cried out an Athenian<sup>2</sup> from the midst of the assembly, *the altar erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy*.

It must be allowed in this respect, that the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks was infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shows, and such external contrivances as were proper to affect the senses. In the institution of which, each evinced and followed its peculiar genius and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, retained notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their ancient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public shows, far from inspiring them with horror, formed a grateful entertainment to them.

The insolent pomp of triumphs flowed from the same source, and argued no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men at least had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of worthy families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free

<sup>1</sup> Lucian. in Vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

<sup>2</sup> It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, whose disciple Lucian had been. He flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war, explained that they had sacked, plundered, and burnt the most opulent cities, and either destroyed, or enslaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

The triumphal arches, erected during the reign of the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from a haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.<sup>1</sup>

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a substance which time would soon consume; and these it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this is admirable. After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity that had divided the people, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity to have thought of re-establishing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted for those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.<sup>2</sup>

I am pleased with the grief depicted on Agesilaus's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh! unhappy Greece, to deprive thyself of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to conquer all the barbarians."<sup>3</sup>

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shows of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship and harmony; and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece from the solemnisation of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied more strictly with one another, stimulated each other against the barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation, and to preserve among them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same fondness for the arts and sciences.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Quæst. Rom. p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> "Ὅτι τὸν χρόνον τὰ σημεῖα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφορᾶς ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ κατανοεῖν ἐπιφθόνον ἐστὶ καὶ φιλαρχώδημον."

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

## OF THE PRIZES OF WIT, AND THE SHOWS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE THEATRE.

I HAVE reserved for the conclusion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this sort of dispute was most lively and ardent, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all the others, because it affects the man more nearly, is founded on his personal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire at with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time a most sensible pleasure, for writers who are generally fond of fame and applause, to have known how to unite in their favour the suffrages of so numerous and select an assembly as that of the Olympic games, in which were present all the finest geniuses of Greece, and all the best judges of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence, and poetry.

Herodotus read his history at the Olympic games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of the nine Muses were given to the nine books which compose his work, and the people cried out wherever he passed, *That is he who has written our history, and celebrated our glorious successes against the barbarians so excellently.*<sup>1</sup>

All who had been present at the games afterwards made every part of Greece resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have related, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that to be the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

Plutarch observes, that Lysias, the famous Athenian orator, contemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the Tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.<sup>2</sup>

We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself.<sup>3</sup> That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek *ῥαψωδῶν*, (*rhapsodists*;) to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and

<sup>1</sup> Lucian. in Herod. p. 622.<sup>2</sup> Plut. de Vit. Orat. p. 836.<sup>3</sup> Diocl. l. xiv. p. 318.

they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughs and hooting; so miserable did the verses appear, He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained some time after in the feast of Bacchus, at Athens, at which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.<sup>1</sup>

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing, in comparison with the ardour and emulation that prevailed at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my readers, at the same time, a short view of the shows and representations of the theatre of the ancients. Those who would be more fully informed on this subject, will find it treated at large in a work, lately made public by the reverend father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that work, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

**EXTRAORDINARY PASSION OF THE ATHENIANS FOR THE ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE STAGE.—EMULATION OF THE POETS IN DISPUTING THE PRIZES OF THOSE REPRESENTATIONS.—A SHORT IDEA OF DRAMATIC POETRY.**

No people ever expressed so much ardour and eagerness for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason is obvious; no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiment, correctness of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. A poor woman who sold herbs at Athens, discovered Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word which he affectedly made use of in expressing himself.<sup>2</sup> The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of passing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces that were acted by public authority several times a year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time, except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance when he disputed the prize.

The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people, but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their suffrages, and that performance which had the most voices was declared victorious, received the crown as such, and was represented with all

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xv. p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Atticus anus Theophrastum, hominem alloqui disertissimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hospitem dixit. -- Quint. l. viii. c. 1.

possible pomp at the expense of the republic. This did not, however, exclude such pieces as were only in the second or third class. The best had not always the preference; for what times have been exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? Ælian is very angry with the judges, who in one of these disputes, gave only the second place to Euripides. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of suffering themselves to be bribed.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation which these disputes and public rewards excited among the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection to which Greece carried scenic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the persons themselves, speaking and acting upon the stage: in the epic, on the contrary, the poet only relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons, and whole nations are interested; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being confidants of their most secret sentiments, and auditors and spectators of their resolutions, enterprises, and the happy or unhappy events attending them. To read and see an action are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we merely read. Our eyes, as well as our minds, are addressed at the same time. The spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were always the chief characters in it, and not from the *satire*, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the gravity and solemnity of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I shall confine myself, upon this head, to tragedy and comedy, both which had their origin among the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were for a long time comprised under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees such improvements as at length raised them to the highest perfection.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF TRAGEDY.—POETS WHO EXCELLED IN IT AT ATHENS; ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOOCLES, AND EURIPIDES.

THERE had been many tragic and comic poets before Thespis; but as they had made no alteration in the original rude form of this poem, and as Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. l. ii. c. 2.

generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in the praise of Bacchus; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

*La tragédie, informe et grossière en naissant,  
N'étoit qu'un simple chœur, où chacun en dansant,  
Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges,  
S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.  
Là, le vin et la joie éveillant les esprits,  
Du plus habile chanteur un bonc étoit le prix.*

*Formless and gross did tragedy arise,  
A simple chorus, rather mad than wise;  
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng  
Boar'd to the god of grapes a drunken song:  
Wild mirth and wine sustain'd the frantic note,  
And the best singer had the prize, a goat.*

Thespis made several alterations in it, which Horace describes after Aristotle, in his Art of Poetry. The first was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they used to sing in the streets, wherever chance led them. Another was, to have their faces smeared over with wine-lees, instead of acting without disguise, as at first.<sup>2</sup> He also introduced a character among the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person; which recital at length gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

*Thespis fut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie,  
Promena par les bourgs cette heureuse folie,  
Et d'acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,  
Amusa les passans d'un spectacle nouveau.*

*First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art,  
The grateful folly vented from a cart;  
And as his tawdry actors drove about,  
The sight was new and charmed the gaping rout.*

Thespis lived in the time of Solon.<sup>4</sup> That wise legislator, upon seeing his pieces performed, expressed his dislike, by striking his staff against the ground; apprehending that these poetical fictions, and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations, would soon become matters of importance, and have too great a share in all public and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Thespis made in tragedy gave room for Æschylus to make new and more considerable ones of his own. He was born at Athens in the first year of the sixteenth Olympiad.<sup>5</sup> He took upon

<sup>1</sup> Boileau Art. Poet. Chant. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Ignotum tragice genus inventisse Camene  
Dicitur, et planstris vexisse poemata Thespie,  
Qui canerent agerentque, peruncti fœcibus ora.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

When Thespis first exposed the tragic muse,  
Rude were the actors, and a cart the scene;  
Where ghastly faces, smear'd with lees of wine,  
Frighted the children, and amused the crowd.

Roscom. Art. of Poet.

<sup>3</sup> Boileau Art. Poet. Chant. iii.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plat. in Solon. p. 95

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3464. Ant. J. C. 540.

him the profession of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, where he did his duty. But his disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon entering into another course, where no less glory was to be acquired, and where he was soon without any competitors.<sup>1</sup> As a superior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in consequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a dissertation which abounds with wit and good sense, explains the manner in which Æschylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. That poet himself used to say, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts, in the Iliad and Odyssey.

Tragedy, therefore, took a new form under him. He gave masks to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart, he created a theatre of moderate extent, and entirely changed their style; which, from being merry and burlesque, as at first, became majestic and serious.<sup>2</sup>

Eschyle dans le chœur jetta les personages;  
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages;  
Sur les ais d'un théâtre en public exhausse  
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chausse.<sup>3</sup>

From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace;  
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,  
Taught him in buskins first to tread the stage,  
And rais'd a theatre to please the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its soul, which was the most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the stronger passions, especially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a subject, great, noble, interesting, and contained within the true bounds by the unity of time, place, and action; in fine, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connexion of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ  
Æschylus, et modicis instravit palpita tignis,  
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

This Æschylus (with indignation) saw,  
And built a stage, found out a decent dress,  
Brought vizards in, (a civiller disguise,)  
And taught men how to speak, and how to act.

Roscom. Art of Poet.

<sup>3</sup> Boileau Art. Poet.

alone, or next to alone, what was then called tragedy. He did not, therefore, exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed either in giving useful counsels and salutary instructions, in espousing the part of innocence and virtue, in being the depository of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or in sustaining all those characters at the same time, according to Horace.<sup>1</sup> The coryphæus, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the furies, laid asleep by Apollo. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking, and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died of the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident it was reduced to fifteen, by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed, that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy, was the mask worn by the actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, beside the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments used by women in their head-dresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated of at large in a dissertation of M. Boindin's, inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.<sup>2</sup>

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably flattening the spirit of the action, which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes enflames it with the heat of rage

<sup>1</sup> Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile  
Defendat; neu quid medios intercinat actus,  
Quod non proposito conducat, et hæreat apta.  
Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis,  
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timantes.  
Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis: ille salubrem  
Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis.  
Ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret,  
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.

Hor. de Art. Post.

The chorus should supply what action wants,  
And hath a generous and manly part;  
Bridles wild rage, loves rigid honesty,  
And strict observance of impartial laws,  
Sobriety, security, and peace;  
And begs the gods to turn blind Fortune's wheel,  
To raise the wretched, and pull down the proud;  
But nothing must be sung between the acts,  
But what some way conduces to the plot.

Roscom. Art of Poetry.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> Manner of Teaching, &c. Vol. IV.



and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others, diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imagined and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and soul by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius. "Our ancestors," says he, "were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even of Roscius himself, while he performed in a mask."<sup>1</sup>

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonus, a town in Attica, in the second year of the 71st Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one that kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a masterpiece. When, upon the occasion of Cymon having found the bones of Theseus, and their being brought to Athens, a dispute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the lists with Æschylus, and carried the prize against him. The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all lost by failing of the last, and withdrew in disgust into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in disgrace at Athens. He died there soon after, in a very singular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay asleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle, taking his bald crown for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy tragedies composed by him, only seven are now extant.

Nor have those of Sophocles escaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and seventeen in number, and, according to some, one hundred and thirty. He retained, in extreme old age, all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history. His children, unworthy of so great a father, under pretence that he had lost his senses, summoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his estate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called *Œdipus at Colonus*, with which the judges were so charmed, that he carried his cause unanimously: and his children, detested by the whole assembly, got nothing by their suit, but the shame and infamy due to such flagrant ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some say he expired in repeating his *Antigone*, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectations. The figure of a hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of bee, which had been given him from the sweetness of his verses; whence, it is probable, the notion was derived, of the bees having settled upon his lips when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year, the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

<sup>1</sup> Quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum, ne Roscium quidem, magnopere laudabant. — Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 404

The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> at Salamis, whither his father Menecarchus and his mother Clito had retired, when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and among others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama, unknown to him at first; and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the greatest masters, of whom we have been speaking. His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy.<sup>2</sup> They abound with excellent maxims of morality; and it is in that view, Socrates in his time, and Cicero long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides.<sup>3</sup>

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprising to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reprov'd whatever seem'd inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having the best founded excuse, giving such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought: *Riches are the supreme good of the human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men.* The whole theatre cried out against these expressions, and he would have been banished directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respited till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

He was in danger of incurring serious inconveniences from an answer he puts into the mouth of Hippolytus. Phrædra's nurse represented to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. *My tongue, it is true, pronounced that oath,* replied he, *but my heart gave no consent to it.* This frivolous distinction appeared to the whole people, as an express contempt of religion and the sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and good faith from society and the commerce of life.

Another maxim advanced by Eteocles in a tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæsar had always in his mouth, is no less pernicious. *If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects let it be duly revered.*<sup>4</sup> It is highly crimi-

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Sententiis densus, et id ille quæ a sapientibus sunt, pene ipse est par.—Quintil. lib. x. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cui (Euripidi) quantum credas nescio; ego certe singula testimonia puto.—Epist. viii. l. 14. ad Famil.

<sup>4</sup> Ipse autem socer (Cæsar) in ore semper Græcos versus Euripidis de Pœniasis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, incondite fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intelligi:

Nam, si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia  
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, qui id unum, quod omnium sceleratissimum fuerat, excerpit.—Offic. l. iii. n. 82.

nal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a false maxim; and it is not strange, that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should lay great stress upon the sentiments of a prince whom he so much resembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced so pernicious a principle upon the stage.

Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to reanimate the spirit of the tragic poets, caused three statues of brass to be erected in the name of the people to Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved among the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects, no doubt, after what has been said relating to the three poets who invented, improved and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should discourse upon the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to Father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poet, that is to say, Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonstrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles, and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to describe the three poets above-mentioned, in the most lively and shining colours.

Tragedy took at first, from Æschylus its inventor, a much more lofty style than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æschylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic style too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but something more. His pompous, swelling, gigantic diction, resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the nobler harmony and silver sound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not permit him to speak the language of other men, so that his muse seemed rather to walk on stilts, than in the buskins of his own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellence of the dramatic style: he therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated *the bee*, with a gravity that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar; and he seems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says M. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress, and rapidity of his flight; and as Racine, in copying

the ancients, in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again with an elegance of motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular and characteristic method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices; the second resembles a canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens;<sup>1</sup> and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continual line, but loves to turn and wind its silver wave through flowery meads and rural scenes.

This is the character M. Brumoi gives of the three poets to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art or method.<sup>2</sup> Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each perfect in its way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to decide which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.<sup>3</sup>

I have observed, that tenderness and pathos distinguish the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the most cruel of tyrants, gave a striking proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play, professing that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hecuba and Andromache, when he had never shown the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of tenderness and pathos, I would not be understood to mean a passion that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost solely confined to our stage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste in science and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions among the ancients, were terror and pity.<sup>4</sup> And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to ourselves, or our particular interest, when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and, from a secret impulse of self-love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others: besides

<sup>1</sup> I know not whether the idea of a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens, may properly describe the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur, and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, seems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

<sup>2</sup> Tragedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit: sublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium; sed rudis in perisique et incomplexus. — Quintil.

<sup>3</sup> Cornelle and Racine.

<sup>4</sup> φόβος και ἔλεος.

which, the sharing a common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befalls them.<sup>1</sup> Upon a close and attentive inquiry into these two passions, they will be found the most deeply inherent, active, extensive, and general affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and for this reason, that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation among them, and had seldom any share in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this passion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got such footing upon our stage. Corneille, who was the first who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madness with the perusal of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. From the desire of pleasing his audience, who were at the same time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the same manner as they had been accustomed to be affected; and by introducing love in his scenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taste of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obscured, so contrary to probability, which will not admit such a number of extraordinary and surprising events in the short space of four-and-twenty hours; so contrary to the simplicity of ancient tragedy, and so adapted to conceal, in the assemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvellous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambic to the heroic verse in their tragedies; not only because the first has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but while it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear; and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in representations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection on this subject. He says, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, pastoral, satire, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of versification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in the French tragedy; which necessarily loses sight of nature and probability, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the most impetuous passions in a uniform cadence, and by hemistichs and rhymes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expression, the spirit of the sentiments, and, perhaps, more

<sup>1</sup> *Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.*—Ter.

than all, the resistless force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and spread a veil before our judgment.

It was not chance, therefore, which suggested to the Greeks the use of iambics in their tragedy. Nature itself seems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide, they made choice of a different versification for the chorus, better adapted to the motions of the dance, and the variations of the song; because it was necessary for poetry to shine out in all its lustre, while the mere conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an embellishment of the representation, and a relaxation to the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to support it, when united with music and dancing.

#### OF THE ANCIENT, MIDDLE, AND NEW COMEDY.

WHILE tragedy was thus rising in perfection at Athens, comedy, the second species of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are sensibly affected with the dangers, distresses, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons; and this gave birth to tragedy. We are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals, which supply us with occasions of laughing, and being merry at the expense of others. Hence originated comedy, which is properly an image of private life. Its design is to expose defects and vice upon the stage, and by ridiculing them, to make them contemptible; and consequently to instruct by diverting. Ridicule, therefore, (or, to express the same word by another, pleasantry,) ought to prevail in comedy.

This species of entertainment took, at different times, three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occasioned various alterations in it.

The ancient comedy, so called by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of coarse jesting and reviling spectators, from the cart of Thespis.<sup>1</sup> Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reserved. It represented real transactions, with the names, habits, gestures, and likeness in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to sacrifice to the public diversion. In a state where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, singularity or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people, upon the most important occasions and interests. No one was spared in a city of so much liberty, or rather license, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods, were abandoned to the poet's satirical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic salt not wanting.

<sup>1</sup> *Successit vetus his Comœdia non sine multa*

Lunde.

Hor. in Art. Poet.

In one of these comedies, not only the priest of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because no more sacrifices are offered to the god; but Mercury himself comes in a starving condition, to seek his fortune among mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, sutler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in short, in any capacity, rather than to return to heaven.<sup>1</sup> In another,<sup>2</sup> the same gods, reduced to the extremity of famine, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon such conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well stored with excellent game of all sorts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit, and assist the cook upon occasions. The other pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satirical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprised at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear; but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and that he presumed to attack the government itself, without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the son of a currier, and a currier himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and imprudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy,<sup>3</sup> without being awed by his power and influence: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared, for the first time upon the stage, in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent him, or to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine-lees; because no workman could be found that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece he reproaches him with embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, whom he covertly designates, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the government of the state, and the command of their armies. He tells them plainly, that when peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus,

<sup>1</sup> Plutus.<sup>2</sup> The Birds.<sup>3</sup> The Knights.

nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

In his comedy called the *Wasps*, imitated by Racine, in his *Plaidours*, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet, concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition to Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a thorough disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years' duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.<sup>1</sup>

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lysistrata*. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates how, during the war, the women inquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to mind their own affairs; that, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined; that they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the rashness of their counsels; but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them; that, in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and advisable to take the government upon themselves, and preserve Greece, whether it would or not, from the folly and madness of its resolves. "For her part, she declares, that she has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order," says she, "to prevent Pisander and his confederates, the four hundred administrators, from exciting troubles according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual." (Was ever any thing so bold?)—She goes on to prove, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burlesque argument, that, admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, patience, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to those of the women, who are only represented in a ridiculous light, in derision of their husbands as administrators of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from Father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper to give a right insight into that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was, as we see, a satire of the most poignant and severe kind, that

<sup>1</sup> The Peace.



had assumed to itself an independency in respect to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It was no wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and uncurbed a liberty. It might, he says, have been tolerable, had it only attacked bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in the state, such as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus; but when Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority, (he might have added, and a Socrates, declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind,) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus, or Nævius, had attacked the Scipios, or Cæcilius had dared to revile Marcus Cato in his writings.<sup>1</sup>

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born in, and live under, a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licentiousness. But, without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which is certainly inexcusable, I think, to judge properly of it, it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. It is a known story, that in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first inquiry was after a certain comic poet (meaning Aristophanes) that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him.<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes did afterwards in the public assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. In his comedies he uttered the same sentiments as he had a right to deliver from the public rostrum. They were addressed to the same people, upon the same occasions of the state, the same means of success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing upon it themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; in which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to decide upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies or enemies. Hence arose the liberty taken by the comic poets, of discussing the affairs of the state in their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three poets particularly excelled in the ancient comedy; Eupolis,

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<sup>1</sup> Quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Esto, populares homines, improbus, in remp. seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophonem, Hyperbolam lædit: patiamur — Sed Periclem, cum jam suæ civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli præfuisset, violari versibus, et eos agi in scena, non plus deccit, quam si Plautus noster voluisset, aut Nævius P. et Cæ Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni maledicere. — Ex. fragm. Cic. de Rep. lib. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. in Acharn.

Cratinus, and Aristophanes.<sup>1</sup> The last is the only one of them whose pieces have come down to us entire, and out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war, he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as a censor of the government, retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or, in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for which Aristophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors.<sup>2</sup> His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched what was ridiculous in the characters whom he wished to expose with such success, or knew better how to convey it in all its force to others. But it would be necessary to have lived in his times to judge with taste of his works. The subtle salt and spirit of the ancient raillery, according to M. Brumoi, is evaporated through the length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and insipid to us; though the sharpest part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two considerable defects are justly imputed to this poet, which very much obscure, if not entirely efface his glory. These are, low buffoonery and gross obscenity; which defects have been excused to no purpose, from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally consisted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as necessary to please as the learned and the rich. The depravity of taste in the lower order of people, which once banished Cratinus and his company, because his scenes were not grossly comic enough for them, is no excuse for Aristophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that grovelling taste, by introducing a species of comedy, not altogether so modest as Plutarch seems to insinuate, yet much less licentious than any before his time.

The gross obscenities with which all Aristophanes's comedies abound, have no excuse; they only denote an excessive libertinism in the spectators, and depravity in the poet. Had his works been remarkable for the utmost wit, which however is not the case, the privilege of laughing himself, or of making others laugh, would have been too

<sup>1</sup> Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetas,  
Atque alii, quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est,  
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus aut far,  
Quod mœchus foret, aut sicarius aut alioqui  
Famosus; multa cum libertate nolabant.

Hor. Sat. iv. l. 1.

With Aristophanes' satiric rage,  
When ancient comedy amus'd the age,  
Or Eupolis', or Cratinus's wit,  
And others that all-licens'd poem writ;  
None, worthy to be shown, escap'd the scotte,  
No public knave, or thief of lofty mien;  
The loose adul'trer was drawn forth to sight;  
The secret murd'rer trembling lurk'd the night;  
Vice play'd itself and each ambitious spark,  
All boldly branded with the poet's mark.

<sup>2</sup> Antiqua comœdia sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet. — Quintil.

dearly purchased at the expense of decency and good manners.<sup>1</sup> And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit at all, than to make so ill a use of it.<sup>2</sup> M. Brumoi is very much to be commended for having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of scholar to that of Christian.

The old comedy subsisted till Lysander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satirical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and confirms the reflection made before, upon the privilege of the poets to criticise with impunity the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then invested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they, either in their own persons or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments or conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited; but the poetical ill nature soon found the secret of eluding the intention of the law, and of making itself amends for the restraint which was imposed upon it by the necessity of using feigned names. It then applied itself to discover the ridiculous in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more refined manner; the one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators upon guessing their meaning, and the other of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy since called the *middle comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece, by the defeat of the Thebans, caused a check to be put upon the license of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the *new comedy* took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage but feigned names and fictitious adventures.

Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir,  
S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.  
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidele  
D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modele,  
Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé  
Meconnut le portrait sur lui-meme formé.\*

In this new glass, while each himself survey'd,  
He sat with pleasure, though himself was play'd.

<sup>1</sup> Nimum risus pretium est, si Probitatisimpendio constat.—Quintil. lib. vi. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse quam mali.—Quintil. lib. i. c. 2.

Boileau Art. Poet. Chant. iii.

The miser grinn'd while avarice was drawn,  
Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own;  
His own dear self no imag'd fool could find,  
But saw a thousand other fops design'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty plays, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remain only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be known by the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated the fame of all other writers in the same way.<sup>1</sup> He observes in another passage, that his own times were not so just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently compensated by the favourable opinion of posterity.<sup>2</sup> And indeed Philemon, a common poet who flourished in the same age, though older than Menander, was preferred before him.

#### THE THEATRE OF THE ANCIENTS DESCRIBED.

I HAVE already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre, adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks, the seats of which rose one above another; but those breaking down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured with dramatic representation, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendour by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them has almost as much relation to the Roman as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from M. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients, who has treated the subject in its fullest extent.<sup>3</sup>

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent,<sup>4</sup> as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and the orchestra, which among the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within the semicircle was allotted to the spectators, and had seats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part, in the front of it, was appropriated to the actors; and in the interval, between both, was the orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raised one upon

<sup>1</sup> Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus abstulit nomen, et fulgore quodam suæ claritatis tenebras obduxit.—Quintil. lib. x. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Quidam, sicut Menander, justiora posteriorum, quam suæ ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti.—Quintil. lib. lii. c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs of the Academy of Inscript. &c. vol. i. p. 136, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 396. Herod. lib. viii. c. 65.

another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the seats. From the highest of these porticoes the women saw the representation, covered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open air.

Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and served as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only seven to sit upon, and consequently in each story there were seven rows of seats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; so that the spectators had room to sit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by those of the people above them, no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of these stories of benches was divided in two different manners; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *præinctiones*, and in their circumferences by several staircases, peculiar to each story, which intersecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the ranges of seats between them, from whence they were called *cunei*.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged in the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the seats. Those openings were called *vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinctness.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word that signifies to dance.<sup>1</sup> It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named *Συμῆλη*, from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third, the Greeks generally disposed their symphony or band of music. They called it *ἑποικίσιον*, from its being situated at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, which they styled the scene.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scene; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scene, and gave name to this division. It occupied the whole front of the building

<sup>1</sup> Ὀρχισθαι.

from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second, called by the Greeks indifferently *προσκήμιον*, and *λογέιον*, and by the Romans *proscenium*, and *pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, represented either the public place or forum, a common street, or the country; but the place so represented was always in the open air.

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks *παροσκήμιον*. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from the heat of the sun. But, as this contrivance did not prevent the heat occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an assembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain, conveying the water for that use above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores, concealed in the statues with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around, but the most fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the porticoes behind the seats of the theatre.

The passion of the Athenians for representations of this kind, is inconceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding, all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public, whether pure chance occasioned the application, or the address of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most remote subjects with the transactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the interests of the people, took occasion to soothe their passions, authorize their pretensions, justify and sometimes condemn their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty in certain nice conjectures<sup>\*</sup>; the effect of which was, that they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and councils; hence the theatre became so grateful, and so much the concern of the people. It was in this manner, according to some authors, that Euripides artfully adapted his tragedy of Palamedes' with the sentence passed against Socrates, and explained, by an illustrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by a vile malignity supported against him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which, from their appositeness, were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse of Æschylus in praise of Amphiarus,

<sup>\*</sup> It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posterior to the death of Socrates.

———'Tis his desire  
Not to appear, but be the great and good,

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to Aristides.<sup>1</sup> The same thing happened to Philopœmen at the Nemæan games. At the instant he entered the theatre, these verses were singing upon the stage,

———He comes, to whom we owe  
Our liberty, the noblest good below.

All the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen,<sup>2</sup> and with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expressed their veneration for the hero.

In the same manner, at Rome during the banishment of Cicero,<sup>3</sup> when some verses of Accius,<sup>4</sup> which reproached the Greeks for their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of Telamon, were repeated by Æsop, the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly.

Upon another, though very different occasion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great some verses to this effect:

'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great:

and then addressing the people,

The time shall come when you shall late deplore  
So great a power confided to such hands;

the spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times.

FONDNESS FOR THEATRICAL REPRESENTATIONS, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE DECLINE, DEGENERACY, AND CORRUPTION OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

WHEN we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the latter ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner subjected it, we shall be surpris'd at the strange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is most material is the investigation of the causes and progress of this declension; and these M. de Tourneil has discussed in an admirable manner, in the elegant preface to his translation of Demosthenes's orations.

There were no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy equally capable of planning good and retrieving bad success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent loftiness, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned the abject wretch to death, that proposed to appease the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost extinguished that of glory, liberty, and independence.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Aristid. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Philopœm. p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123.

<sup>4</sup> O ingratiſſos Argivi, inanes Graſi, immemores beneficii,  
Exulare civiſtis, civiſtis pelli, vulſum patimini.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. Epist. 19. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2

Pericles, that great man, so absolute that those who envied him treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained, that upon such days as games or sacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli should be distributed among them; and that, in the assemblies in which affairs of state were to be discussed, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of being present. Thus the members of the republic were seen for the first time to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank among servile employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end; and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of the war, and to make it capital to advise upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses; but notwithstanding, the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, while the citizen, who was supported at the public expense, endeavoured to deserve its liberality, by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to serve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deserter, without distinction; but at length the number of the transgressors carried it against the law, and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accustomed to the delightful abode of a city where feasts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of freeborn men.

It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an inactive, useless life. Hence arose principally their passion, or rather frenzy, for public shows. The death of Epaminondas, which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. "Their courage," says Justin,<sup>1</sup> "did not survive that illustrious Theban. Free from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they sunk into a lethargic sloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and sea, were soon lavished upon games and feasts. The pay of the seamen and soldiers was distributed to the idle citizen, enervated by soft and luxurious habits of life. The representations of the theatre were preferred to the exercises of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely disregarded. Great captains were in no estimation, while good poets and excellent comedians engrossed universal applause."

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to dramatic performances. As no expense was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the service of the theatre. "If," says Plutarch,<sup>2</sup> "an accurate calculation were to be made, what each representation of the dramatic pieces, cost the Athenians, it would appear, that their expenses in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœnicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea, and Electra, (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides,) were

<sup>1</sup> Justin. l. vi. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. de Glor. Athen. p. 349.



greater than those which had been employed against the Barbarians; in defence of the liberty and for the preservation of Greece."¹ This gave a Spartan just reason to exclaim, on seeing an estimate of the enormous sums laid out in these efforts of the tragic poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magistrates who presided in them, "That a people must be void of sense, to apply themselves in so warm and serious a manner to things so frivolous. For," added he, "games should be only games; and nothing is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind agree only with public rejoicings and seasons of festivity, and were designed to divert people at their leisure hours, but should by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor the necessary expenses of the government."

"After all," says Plutarch, in a passage which I have already cited, "of what utility have these tragedies been to Athens, though so much boasted by the people, and admired by the rest of the world? We find, that the prudence of Themistocles inclosed the city with strong walls; that the fine taste and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimón acquired it the empire and government of all Greece." If the wise and learned poetry of Euripides, the sublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buskin of Æschylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I am willing, (he adds,) that "dramatic pieces should be placed in competition with trophies of victory, the poetic theatre with the field of battle, and the compositions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals." But what a comparison would this be? On the one side would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims assigned them for excelling in tragic poetry; on the other, a train of illustrious captains, surrounded with colonies which they founded, the cities which they captured, and the nations which they subjected. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamis, Eurymedon, and many others, that so many feasts are celebrated every month with such pomp by the Grecians.

The conclusion which is hence drawn by Plutarch, in which we ought to join him, is, that it was the highest imprudence in the Athenians thus to prefer pleasure to duty, the passion for the theatre to the love of their country,<sup>2</sup> trivial representations to application to public business, and to consume, in useless expenses and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the Athenian indolence and effeminacy;<sup>3</sup> and Philip, instructed by

¹ Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. quest. vii. p. 710.

² *Ἀμαρτάνουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα, τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὴν καταναλισκόντων, τριτάτη μεγάλην κερσεύλων δαπάναν καὶ στρατοπέδων ἰσθία καταχορηγηθῆναι εἰς τὸ διατρέψαι.*

³ Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum et obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obses triennio Thebis habitus, Epamilonidæ et Pelopidæ

the Greeks themselves, among whom he had for several years applied himself successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

I am now to open an entirely new scene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curiosity and attention. We shall see two states of no great consideration, Media and Persia, extend themselves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent or a conflagration, and with amazing rapidity, conquer and subdue many provinces and kingdoms. We shall see that vast empire setting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Persians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and falling, with all the forces of Asia and the East, upon a country of very small extent, and destitute of all foreign assistance, I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold so many nations united together, such preparations for war, made for several years, with so much diligence, innumerable armies by sea and land, and such fleets as the sea could hardly contain; and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almost entirely to themselves, have we not reason to believe, that these two little cities are going to be utterly destroyed and swallowed up by so formidable an enemy; and that no vestiges of them will be left remaining? And yet we shall find that they prove victorious, and, by their invincible courage, and the several battles they gained, both by sea and land, will make the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever again turning their arms against Greece.

The history of the war between the Persians and the Greeks will illustrate the truth of this maxim, that it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the success of military expeditions. The reader will admire the surprising courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion against them could deject, nor the greatest misfortunes disconcert; who undertook, with a handful of men, to make head against innumerable armies; who, notwithstanding such a prodigious inequality in forces, durst hope for success; who even compelled victory to declare on the side of merit and virtue, and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country, in the love of our duty, and in all the sentiments of noble and generous souls.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by another among the latter themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence, and seemingly unworthy of a reader's curiosity, who is fond of great events; in this he will meet with little besides private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths; some inconsiderable sieges, (excepting that of Syra-

case, one of the most important related in ancient history,) though several of these sieges were of considerable duration; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it, then, that has rendered these wars so famous in history? Sallust informs us in these words: "The actions of the Athenians doubtless were great, and yet I believe they were somewhat less than fame reports them. But because Athens abounded in noble writers, the acts of that republic are celebrated throughout the whole world as the most glorious; and the gallantry of those heroes who performed them, has had the good fortune to be thought as transcendent as the eloquence of those who have described them."<sup>1</sup>

Sallust, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a series of distinguished actions, with which their history abounds, yet he does justice in this passage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illustrious, though somewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is, then, this foreign and borrowed lustre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their historians? It is, that the whole universe agrees in looking upon them as the greatest and most glorious that ever were performed. *Per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All nations, seduced and enchanted as it were with the beauties of the Greek authors, think the exploits of that people superior to any other thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Sallust, is the advantage the Athenians have derived from the Greek authors, who have thus excellently described their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our history, for want of the like assistance, has left a thousand bright actions and fine sayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the strongest light by the ancient writers, and would have done great honour to our country.

But, however this may be, it must be confessed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the persons who shared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in such little sieges and engagements as we find recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conspicuous. Accordingly it is observed, that it was chiefly at the head of small armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our best generals of the last age displayed their great capacity, and showed themselves not inferior to the most celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this sort, chance has no share, and does not cover any oversights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the soul of the army, which neither acts nor moves but by his direction. He sees every thing, and is present every where. Nothing escapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are seasonably given and seasonably executed.

<sup>1</sup> Atheniensium res gestas, sicuti ego existimo, satis amplè magnificæque fuerunt; verum aliquanto minores, tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanto habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. — Sallust. in Bell. Catilin.

Finesse, stratagems, false marches, real or feigned attacks, encampments, decampments, in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account, the reading of the Greek historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite service to young officers; because those historians, who were also excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were by the hand, through all the sieges and battles they describe; showing them, by the example of the greatest generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian history affords us such excellent models: We shall there find celebrated legislators, able politicians, magistrates born for government, men who have excelled in all arts and sciences, philosophers that carried their inquiries as far as possible in those early ages, and who have left us such maxims of morality as might put many Christians to the blush.

If the virtues of those who are celebrated in history may serve us for models in the conduct of our lives, their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no less proper to caution and instruct us; and the strict regard which a historian is obliged to pay to truth, will not allow him to dissemble the latter through fear of eclipsing the lustre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch, on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon.<sup>1</sup> He requires that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light: but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprise, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs,<sup>2</sup> considering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes that proceed from any corruption of the heart; such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly; in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor think himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed or disguised on any account; nor can we suppose that the same privilege should be allowed in history as in painting, which invented the profile to represent the side-face of a prince who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity.<sup>3</sup> History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, as indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the public,

<sup>1</sup> In Cim. p. 479, 480.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐλλειπόμενα μὲλλον ἀρετῆς τινος ἢ κακίας πομπόμενα.

<sup>3</sup> Habet in pictura speciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret. — Quintil. l. ii. c. 13.

which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite a horror for vice, than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inspire us with the love of virtue. And these, according to Tacitus, are the two ends which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that public homage to be paid to virtue, which is justly due to it; and to create the greater abhorrence for vice, on account of the eternal infamy that attends it.<sup>1</sup>

The history which I am writing furnishes but too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear by what is said of their kings, that those princes whose power has no other bounds than those of their will, often abandon themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the delusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that even after having begun their career favourably, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and restraints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise, and doubly strong, in order to set bounds within, by their reason, to a power that has none without.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will show the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses into which they were led by their thirst of dominion, scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will show, how scandalously the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debased themselves to the barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them; how shamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their past labours and exploits, by stooping and making their court to certain haughty and insolent satraps, and by going successively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had so often conquered; and in what manner they employed the succours they obtained from them, in oppressing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjust and violent methods.

On both sides, and sometimes in the same person, we shall find a surprising mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean sentiments; and sometimes, perhaps, we shall be ready to ask ourselves, whether these can be the same persons and the same people, of whom such different things are related; and whether

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<sup>1</sup> *Exequi sententias haud institui, nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore; quod præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravæ dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit. — Tacit. Annal. l. iii. 65.*

it be possible that such a bright and shining light, and such thick clouds of smoke and darkness, can proceed from the same source ?

The Persian history includes the space of one hundred and seventeen years, during the reigns of six kings of Persia ; Darius, the first of the name, the son of Hystaspes ; Xerxes the first ; Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus ; Xerxes the second ; Sogdianus ; (the two last reigned but a short time ; ) and Darius the second, commonly called Darius Nothus. This history begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itself into two parts, I shall also divide it into two distinct books.

The first part, which consists of ninety years, extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first to the forty-second year of Artaxerxes, the same year in which the Peloponnesian war began ; that is, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprises and expeditions of the Persians against Greece, which never produced more great men or greater events, nor ever displayed more conspicuous or more solid virtues. Here will be seen the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, Plataea, Micale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the most eminent commanders of Greece signalized their courage ; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pausanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader the more easily to recollect what passed within this space of time among the Jews, and also among the Romans, the history of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Persians and Greeks, I shall here set down in few words the principal epochs relating to them.

#### EPOCHS OF THE JEWISH HISTORY.

THE people of God were at this time returned from their Babylonish captivity to Jerusalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Usher is of opinion that the history of Esther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Israelites, under the shadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at last finish the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no less favourable to the Jews than Darius ; he first of all sent Ezra to Jerusalem, who restored the public worship, and the observation of the law ; then Nehemiah, who caused walls to be built round the city, and fortified it against the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatness. It is thought that Malachi, the last of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he prophesied not long after him.

This interval of the sacred history extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus ; that is to say, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3581. After which the Scripture is entirely silent, till the time of the Maccabees.

#### EPOCHS OF THE ROMAN HISTORY.

THE first year of Darius I. was the 233d of the building of Rome Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years after

wards was expelled, when the consular government was substituted for that of the kings. In the succeeding part of this period, happened the war against Porsenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volsci, and the war that ensued thereupon; the wars of the Romans against the Latins, the Veientes, the Volsci, and other neighbouring nations; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military tribunes instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

The second part, which consists of twenty-seven years, extends from the forty-third year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Darius Nothus; that is from the year of the world 3578 to the year 3600. It contains the first nineteen years of the Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the barbarians, turned their arms against each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, eminently distinguished themselves.

Rome continued to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Neji, which lasted ten years.

I have already observed, that eighty years after the taking of Troy,<sup>1</sup> the Heraclidæ, that is, the descendants of Hercules, returned into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of Lacedæmon, where two of them, who were brothers, Euristhenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus observes, that these two brothers were during their whole lives at variance, and that almost all their descendants inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy; so true it is, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the sceptre jointly; and what is very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus to the death of Cleomenes, and supplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular succession from father to son, especially in the elder branch of the family.

#### THE ORIGIN AND CONDITION OF THE ELOTEÆ, OR HRELOTS.

WHEN the Lacedæmonians first began to settle in Peloponnesus, they met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to subdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on easy and equitable terms, with the imposition of a small tribute. Strabo speaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having submitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly, and refused to pay the tribute.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1104.    <sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. c. 52.    <sup>3</sup> Lib. viii. p. 365. Plat. in *Lycurg.* p. 40.

Agis, the son of Euristhenes, newly settled on the throne, was sensible of the dangerous tendency of this first revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army against them, together with Soüs, his colleague. They laid siege to the city, which, after a pretty long resistance, was forced to surrender at discretion. This prince thought it proper to make such an example of them, as should intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reason he put none to death. He spared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the same time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a state of slavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and servile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. These were the people who were called Elotæ or Helots. The number of them exceedingly increased in process of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the same name to all the people whom they reduced to the same condition of servitude. As they themselves were averse to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their land to these slaves, assigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, the produce of which they were obliged to carry every year to their respective masters, who endeavoured, by all sorts of ill usage, to make their yoke more grievous and insupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vast number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the state, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occasion. The Romans acted more prudently in this respect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their state, by admitting them to the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them from enemies into brethren and fellow citizens.

#### LYCURGUS, THE LACEDÆMONIAN LAWGIVER.

EURYTION, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, succeeded Soüs. In order to gain the affections of the people, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede, in some points, from the absolute power exercised by the kings, his predecessors; this rendered his name so dear to his subjects, that all his descendants were from him called Eurytionidæ.<sup>1</sup> But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confusion and an unbounded licentiousness in Sparta, which for a long time occasioned infinite mischiefs. The people became so insolent, that nothing could restrain them. If Eurytion's successors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and, if, through complaisance or weakness, they chose to dissemble, their mildness served only to render them contemptible; so that order was in a manner abolished, and the laws no longer regarded. These confusions hastened the death of Lycurgus's father, whose name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an insurrection. Polydectes, his eldest son and successor, dying soon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was so in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as soon

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40.



as that was manifest, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her child, in case it proved a son; and from that moment he took upon himself the administration of the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of *prolicos*, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him up in his arms, and cried out to the company that were present, *behold, my lords of Sparta, this new-born child is your king*: and at the same time he put the infant in the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people expressed upon occasion of his birth. The reader will find in the first volume of this history, all that relates to the history of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he established in Sparta. Agesilaus was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

#### WAR BETWEEN THE ARGIVES AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

SOME time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two states, and to which each of them pretended a right.<sup>1</sup> When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men on both sides; and that the land in question should become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to some distance. Those generous champions, then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot, and only the night parted them. The two Argives looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what haste they could to Argos to carry the news: the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring, stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his post. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both sides laid equal claim to the victory; the Argives, because they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, because the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their single soldier had remained master of the field of battle, and had carried off the spoils of the enemy; in short, they could not determine the dispute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thought of surviving his brave companions, or of enduring the sight of Sparta after their death, killed himself on the same field of battle where they had fought, resolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 82.

## WARS BETWEEN THE MESSENIANS AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

THERE were no less than three several wars between the Messenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Messenia was a country in Peloponnesus, not far westward from Sparta; it was of inconsiderable strength, and was governed by its own kings.

## THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

THE first Messenian war lasted twenty years, and broke out in the second year of the ninth Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received several considerable injuries from the Messenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters ravished by the inhabitants of Messenia, when they went according to custom, to a temple that stood on the borders of the two nations; as also that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a consequence of the former outrage. Probably a desire of extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But, be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of archon at Athens was still decennial.

Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia.<sup>2</sup> He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Amphea, an inconsiderable city, which, however, they thought, would be a very convenient depot for arms. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. The first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themselves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians; so much did they rely upon their strength and valour.

Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was nearly equal on both sides. But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion in their troops, and at last brought pestilence among them.<sup>3</sup>

Hereupon they consulted the oracle at Delphos, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Messenians then considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon them all except Ithoma, a little place situated on the top of a hill of the same name, about which they encamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but slight skirmishes on both sides, the Lacedæmonians not daring, in all that time, to force the enemy to a battle.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743. Pausan. l. iv. p. 216—242. Justin. l. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. l. iv. p. 225—228.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 227—284.

Indeed, they almost despaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themselves, that made them continue so burdensome a war. What gave them the greatest uneasiness, was their apprehension lest their absence and distance from their wives for so many years, and which might still continue many more, should destroy their families at home, and leave Sparta destitute of citizens.<sup>1</sup> To prevent this misfortune, they sent home such of their soldiers as were come to the army since the fore-mentioned oath had been taken, and made no scruple of prostituting their wives to their embraces. The children that sprung from these unlawful connexions, were called *Partheniæ*, a name given to them to denote the infamy of their birth. As soon as they were grown up, not being able to endure such an opprobrious distinction, they banished themselves from Sparta with one consent, and under the conduct of Phalanthus,<sup>2</sup> went and settled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.

At last, in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma.<sup>3</sup> Euphaes pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, several of which were mortal. He fell, and seemed to have expired. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both sides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to save him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and spoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the custody of some of his soldiers. He himself received several wounds, all in the fore-part of his body, which was a certain proof that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Aristomenes, fighting on the same occasion, and for the same end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whose spoils he likewise carried off, without receiving any wound. In short, the king was saved and carried off by the Messenians; and all mangled and bloody as he was, he expressed great joy that they had not been worsted. Aristomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reason of his wounds, could neither walk by himself, nor with the assistance of those that lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his shoulders without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As soon as they had applied the first dressing to the wounds of the king of Messenia and of his officers, there arose a new contention among the Messenians, that was pursued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the consequence of the other. The affair in question was the adjudging the prize of glory to him that had signalized his valour most in the late engagement. For it was a custom among them, publicly to proclaim after a battle the name of the man that had shown the greatest courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and soldiers, to inspire them with resolution and intrepidity, and to stifle the natural apprehension of death and danger. Two illustrious champions entered the lists on this occasion, namely, Cleonnis and Aristomenes.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xv. p. 378.    \* Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto.—Hor. Od. vi. l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. l. iv. p. 284, 285.    Diod. in Frag.

The king, notwithstanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, presided in the council, where this important dispute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cause. Cleonnis began and founded his pretensions upon the great number of the enemies he had slain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were so many undoubted testimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas the condition in which Aristomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, seemed to show that he had been very careful of his own person, or at most, could only prove that he had been more fortunate, but not more brave or courageous than himself. And as to his having carried the king on his shoulders into the camp, that action indeed might serve to prove the strength of his body, but nothing farther; and the thing in dispute at this time, says he, is not strength, but valour.

The only thing Aristomenes was reproached for, was his not being wounded; therefore he confined himself to that point, and answered in the following manner: "I am," says he, "called fortunate, because I have escaped from the battle without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I should deserve another epithet than that of fortunate; and instead of being admitted to dispute the prize, ought to undergo the rigour of the laws that punish cowards. But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greatest glory. For, if my enemies, astonished at my valour, durst not venture to attack or oppose me, it is no small degree of merit, that I made them fear me; or if while they engaged me, I had at the same time strength to cut them in pieces, and skill to guard against their attacks, I must then have been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midst of an engagement, can expose himself to danger with caution and security, shows that he excels at the same time both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleonnis with any want of it; but, for his honour's sake, I am sorry that he should appear to want gratitude."

After the conclusion of these harangues, the question was put to the vote. The whole army was in suspense, and impatiently waited for the decision. No dispute could be so warm and interesting as this. It is not a competition for gold or silver, but solely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure disinterested glory. Here the judges are unsuspected. The actions of the competitors still speak for them. It is the king himself, surrounded with his officers, who presides and adjudges. A whole army are the witnesses. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In short, all the votes concurred in favour of Aristomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

Euphaes, the king, died not many days after the decision of this affair.<sup>1</sup> He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time had been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Messenians at liberty to choose his successor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in opposition to Aristomenes; but

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. l. iv. p. 235, 241.

he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not scruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the state. All strongly attached to the public good, even more than to their own glory; competitors, but not enemies, these great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adversaries to one another, but for its preservation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monsieur Boivin, the elder, and have made use of his learned dissertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He supposes, and proves in it, that the king spoken of in that fragment is Euphaes, and that Aristomenes is the same that Pausanias called Aristodemus, according to the custom of the ancients, who are called by two different names.<sup>1</sup>

Aristomenes, otherwise called Aristodemus, reigned near seven years, and was equally esteemed and beloved by his subjects. The war still continued all this time.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and, in honour of Jupiter and Ithoma, sacrificed three hundred of them, among whom the king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Aristodemus sacrificed himself upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the answer of an oracle. Damis was his successor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

After his death, the Messenians had never any success in their affairs, but found themselves in a very wretched and hopeless condition.<sup>3</sup> Being reduced to the last extremity, and utterly destitute of provisions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to such of their allies as were nearest to them. The city was immediately razed, and all the people that remained submitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forsake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them; a very useless precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them, but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market, one half of the corn they should reap every harvest. It was likewise stipulated, that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend in mourning the funerals of the kings, and the chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. Thus ended the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

THE lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenians at first, was of no long duration.<sup>5</sup> When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 84—115.

<sup>2</sup> *Clem. Alex. in Ptolemp.* p. 20. *Euseb. in Præp.* l. iv. c. 16. <sup>3</sup> *Pausan.* l. iv. p. 241, 242.

<sup>4</sup> *A. M.* 3281. *Ant. J. C.* 723. <sup>5</sup> *Pausan.* l. iv. p. 242—261. *Justin.* l. li. c. 5.

kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle means to win those whom they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole weight of subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no justice, treated them like vile slaves, and committed the most heinous outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himself to servitude; the most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected, then, from so cruel a one as that under which the Messenians groaned? After having endured it with great uneasiness near forty years, they resolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty.<sup>1</sup> This was in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad;<sup>2</sup> the office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Messenians' first care was, to strengthen themselves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. These they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own interests. For it was not without jealousy and apprehension, that they saw so powerful a city rising up in the midst of them, which manifestly seemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the rest. The people, therefore, of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Messenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. Aristomenes,<sup>3</sup> the second of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beaten in this engagement. Aristomenes, to give the enemy at first an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the success of future enterprises, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed Chalciæcos, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess, out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphic oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy, therefore, to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at this request. On the one hand, they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from desiring to furnish them with a good general; on the other,

<sup>1</sup> Cum per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera, plerumque ac vincula, cæteraque captivitatis mala perpessi essent, post longam penarum patientiam bellum instaurant.—Justin. l. iii. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.

<sup>3</sup> According to several historians, there was another Aristomenes in the first Messenian war.—Diod. l. xv. p. 378.

they were afraid also of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a person called Tyrtæus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his mind, and disagreeable in his person, for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general sent them by heaven itself. Their successes did not at first answer their expectation, for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were absolutely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtæus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He addressed the troops, and repeated to them some verses he had made on the occasion, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wisdom can surmount. He then represented to them, what a shame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy, and how glorious it would be for them rather to perish sword in hand in fighting for their country, if it was so decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vanished, and the gods, fully satisfied and appeased with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their side, he set victory before their eyes as present and certain, and as if she herself was inviting them to battle. All the ancient authors who have made any mention of the style and character of Tyrtæus's poetry,<sup>1</sup> observe, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthusiasm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themselves, that inspired them with something generous and martial, that extinguished all fear and apprehension of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preservation of their country and their own glory.<sup>2</sup>

Tyrtæus's verses had really this effect on the soldiers upon this occasion. They desired with one voice to march against the enemy. Being wholly indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to secure to themselves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied bands round their right arms, on which were inscribed their own and their fathers' names, that if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces so altered through time or accidents, as not to be distinguishable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by these marks. Soldiers determined to die are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that ensued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time disputed on both sides; but at last the Messenians gave way. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already lasted three years. Aristomenes, having assembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain of difficult access,

<sup>1</sup> Plat. l. i. de Legib. p. 629. Plat. in Agid. et Cleom. p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Tyrtæusque mareo animos in martia bella  
Veribus exacuit. Hor. in Art. Poet.

which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault; but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and performed the most extraordinary actions of bravery. He was at last obliged to quit it only by surprise and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the Helots, or slaves. The rest, seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messana; the same place called at this day Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of passing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

The second Messenian war was of fourteen years' duration, and ended the first year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad.<sup>1</sup>

There was a third war between these people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at the time, and on the occasion of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We shall speak of this war in its place.

The history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander, and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety-three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the Emperor Augustus.

This history will present to our view a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy and perfidious conduct, treason, ingratitude, and crying abuses of sovereign power, cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of probity and honour, with the violation of all laws human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars, and dreadful revolutions. Men originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers, and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expense of their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the sisters of that prince, to their ambition; and without sparing even those to whom they either owed or gave life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men, and great examples; or if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid track, and are only remarkable from the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitied, who is obliged to represent human nature in such

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.



colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which cannot fail of inspiring disgust and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most interesting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects, by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation; and it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excess of inordinate passions of which he conceives himself incapable.

How is it possible to diffuse any interest through a narration, which has nothing to offer but a uniform series of vices and great crimes, and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men, born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very names should not be transmitted to posterity? It may even be thought dangerous to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of too successful iniquity; and to be particular in describing the unjust success which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on Providence by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so, from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death, and to secure themselves some portion, greater or less, of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each individual. Macedonia changed its masters five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connexion with each other; nor will it be possible to point out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose transactions are perhaps the most complicated and perplexed part of ancient history, Usher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my usual guides; and, on many occasions, I shall only transcribe from Prideaux; but with all

these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light on this history as I could desire.

After a war of more than twenty years, the number of the principal competitors was reduced to four: Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus: the empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel, by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the Lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was subject to the fewest changes, because Ptolemy, who was established there as a governor at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity, we shall therefore consider this prince as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochs shall be fixed from him.

The third volume contains the events for the space of one hundred and twenty years, under the first four kings of Egypt, viz. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty; Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned twenty-five; and Ptolemy Philopator, whose reign continued seventeen.

In order to throw some light upon the history contained therein, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped Monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious conqueror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his ancestors had governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters as a vacant succession; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued peaceably in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains, and he might have transmitted the sceptre of his progenitors to his own descendants; but, as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was instrumental in the destruction of his house: and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, spread and carried desolation, fire and sword through whole provinces without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that Providence abandoned these events to chance, but, as it was then preparing all things for the appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations that were to be first enlightened with the gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece: and the same Providence

rendered it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The Deity, therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great among the generals of that prince, immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself, without acknowledging any superior.

This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia,<sup>1</sup> wherein Antigones and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms by a solemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coelosyria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Asia Major which extended to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted almost without any interruption, in the same families, and through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

#### I. THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT:

THE kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus, the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. The histories of six of these kings will be found in the third and fourth volume of this work, and I shall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight years and some months.<sup>2</sup>

Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the lifetime of his father.<sup>3</sup>

Ptolemy Euergetes, twenty-five years.

Ptolemy Philopator, seventeen.<sup>5</sup>

Ptolemy Epiphanes, twenty-four.<sup>6</sup>

Ptolemy Philometer, thirty-four.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 308.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 324.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3718.

<sup>4</sup> 3758.

<sup>5</sup> 3782.

<sup>6</sup> 3860.

<sup>7</sup> 3822.

## II. THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.

THE kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, their reigns were often very short; and, indeed, several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII. with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenus. In his reign, Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the third and fourth volumes, are eight in number.

Selucus Nicator. He reigned twenty years.<sup>1</sup>

Antiochus Soter, nineteen.<sup>2</sup>

Antiochus Theos, fifteen.<sup>3</sup>

Selucus Callinicus, twenty.<sup>4</sup>

Selucus Ceraunus, three.<sup>5</sup>

Antiochus the Great, thirty-six.<sup>6</sup>

Selucus Philopator, twelve.<sup>7</sup>

Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator. eleven.<sup>8</sup>

## III. THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA.

MACEDONIA frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four princes.<sup>9</sup> Cassander died three or four years after that partition, and left three sons. Philip, the eldest, died shortly after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.

Demetrius, Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lysimachus, made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately.<sup>10</sup>

After the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.<sup>11</sup>

Ptolemy Ceraunus, having slain the preceding prince, seized the kingdom and possessed it alone but a very short time, having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.<sup>12</sup>

Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a short time in Macedonia.<sup>13</sup>

Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted those dominions to his descendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.<sup>14</sup>

He was succeeded by his son Demetrius,<sup>15</sup> who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.

' A. M. 3704.    " 3724.    " 3743.    ' 3758.    ' 3778.    ' 3781.    ' 3817.    ' 3839.  
" 3707.    " 3710.    " 3723.    " 3724.    " 3726.    " 3728.    " 3762.

Antigonus Dason reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.<sup>1</sup>

Philip, after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne, at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.<sup>2</sup>

His son Perseus succeeded him, and reigned about eleven years.<sup>3</sup> He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

#### IV. THE KINGDOM OF THRACE AND BITHYNIA, &c.

THIS fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces, very remote from one another, had not any succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lysimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle, after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembered, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

Besides the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian states, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

#### KINGS OF BITHYNIA.

WHILE Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes had laid the foundation of the kingdom of Bithynia.<sup>4</sup> It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unless we may conjecture with Pausanias, that he was a Thracian.<sup>5</sup> His successors, however, are better known.

Nicomedes I.<sup>6</sup> This prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.

Prusias I.

Prusias II. surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels in his war against Eumenes II. king of Pergamus.<sup>7</sup>

Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimonial of his gratitude to them; by which means these territories became a Roman province.

#### KINGS OF PERGAMUS.

THIS kingdom at first comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the *Ægean* sea, over against the island of Lesbos.

It was founded by Philaterra,<sup>8</sup> a eunuch, who had been a servant to Docimus, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lysimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3772.

<sup>2</sup> 3784.

<sup>3</sup> 3824.

<sup>4</sup> 3886.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. l. v. p. 310.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3726.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. 3820.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. 3721 Ant. J. C. 233.

Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle.<sup>1</sup> He reigned twelve years.

He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians;<sup>2</sup> and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

His successor was Eumenes II.<sup>3</sup> his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his sons, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions considerably, after the victory he obtained over Antiochus the Great.

Attalus II.<sup>4</sup> espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown after he had worn it twenty-one years.

Attalus III.<sup>5</sup> surnamed Philometer, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

Aristonicus,<sup>6</sup> who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans; but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

#### KINGS OF PONTUS.

THE kingdom of Pontus in Asia Minor was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said, by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the magi.<sup>7</sup>

Pontus is a region of Asia Minor, and is situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea (*Pontus Euxinus*), from which it derives its name. It extends from the river Halys, as far as Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

The sixth monarch was Mithridates I.<sup>8</sup> who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes,<sup>9</sup> who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, who reigned twenty-six years.

His successor was Mithridates II.<sup>10</sup> Antigones suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called *Κτιστής*, or *The Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

Mithridates III. succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

<sup>9</sup> A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133

<sup>10</sup> A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

<sup>11</sup> A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates, the great grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, the king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces,<sup>1</sup> who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V. surnamed Euergetes, the first who was called the friend of the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupator.<sup>1</sup> This is the great Mithridates VI. who sustained so long a war with the Romans, and reigned sixty-six years.

#### KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

STRABO informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus; the other tracts constituted Cappadocia, properly so called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along Mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.<sup>2</sup>

When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes.<sup>4</sup> Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father, sometime after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of this history.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did, much about the same time.

#### KINGS OF ARMENIA.

ARMENIA, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians; after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. The kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one, and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 534.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

## KINGS OF EPIRUS.

EPIRUS is a province of Greece, separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who established himself in that country, and called themselves Æacides, from Æacus the grandfather of Achilles.

The genealogy of the latter kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be doubtful and obscure.<sup>1</sup>

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings; and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent school, such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning, and as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been.<sup>2</sup> When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and a magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip king of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government with Arymbas, his elder brother, by the credit of his son-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides, his son, ought to have been his successor; but Philip had still sufficient influence to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander the son of Neoptolemus sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacides then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troias, and one son, the celebrated Pyrrhus.

As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus, but having afterwards divested him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. Justin. l. viii. c. 6. Plat. in Pyrrho.

<sup>2</sup> Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit.—Justin. l. xvii. c. 3.



died in the city of Argos, in an attempt to make himself master of it.<sup>1</sup>

Helenus his son reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

#### TYRANTS OF HERACLEA.

HERACLEA is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Bœotians, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

When the Athenians, having conquered the Persians, had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet, intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution.<sup>2</sup> Lamachus was therefore sent against them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose natural ferocity might well have been increased by the severe treatment they had lately received. But they had recourse to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furnished him with troops and provisions for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendship of the Athenians at that price.<sup>3</sup>

Some time after this event,<sup>4</sup> the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens and senators, who, having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were necessitated to recall Clearchus, a senator, to their defence, whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals, nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators, to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the Tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, assumed his place, and pursued the same conduct for the space of fifteen years.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. l. xvi. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xv. p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> Heracleenses honestiorem beneficii, quam ultionis occasionem rati, instructos comestibus auxillisque dimittunt: bene agrorum suorum populationem impensam existimentes, si quæ hostes habuerant, amicos reddissent. — Justin.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352. Diod. l. xv. p. 43\*

He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius,<sup>1</sup> who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this last was soon destroyed, Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus, whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxithres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heraclea.

He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris.<sup>2</sup>

This princess was rendered happy in her administration by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her name; after which she transplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus.<sup>3</sup>

#### KINGS OF SYRACUSE.

HIERO,<sup>4</sup> and his son Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse.<sup>5</sup> His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year.<sup>6</sup> I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

#### OTHER KINGS.

SEVERAL kings likewise reigned in the Cimberian Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their history is very uncertain, and their successions have but little regularity.

These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians also took its rise about the same period. I shall treat of each in their proper places.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337. Diad. l. xvi. p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Diad. l. xx. p. 838.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 269.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 218.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 218.

## CATALOGUE

OF THE EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK AUTHORS CITED IN THIS  
WORK.

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THUCYDIDES. — Apud Henricum Stephanum, An. 1588

XENOPHON. — Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1625.

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ARRIANUS. — Ludgd. Batav. An. 1704.

# BOOK FIRST.

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## THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

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### PLAN.

I shall divide what I have to say upon the Egyptians into three parts. The first contains a concise description of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is more remarkable in it; in the second, I treat of the customs, laws, and religion of the Egyptians; and in the third, I give the history of their kings.

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### PART FIRST.

DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHATEVER IS MOST  
CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE IN THAT COUNTRY.

EGYPT comprehended anciently, within limits of no very great extent, a prodigious number of cities, and an incredible number of inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

It is bounded on the east by the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez, on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, through the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is enclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground of not above half a day's journey in length,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts; Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from the seven Nomi or dis-

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<sup>1</sup> It is related, that under Amasis, there were twenty thousand inhabited cities in Egypt—Hered. l. ii. c. 177.

<sup>2</sup> A day's journey is 24 eastern, or 33 English m<sup>l</sup>es and a quarter.

tricts it contained; Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks call Delta, and all the country as far as the Red Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Casius. Under Sesostria, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.<sup>1</sup>

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia, and, in the days of Augustus, were the boundaries of the Roman empire; *Claustra olim Romani imperii*; Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 61.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THEBAIS.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer, are universally known,<sup>2</sup> and acquired it the surname of Hecatonpylos, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. Its population was proportionate to its extent;<sup>3</sup> and, according to history, it could send out at once two hundred chariots, and ten thousand fighting men, at each of its gates. The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur, though they saw it only in its ruins; so august were the remains of this city.<sup>4</sup>

In the Thebaid, now called Said, have been discovered temples and palaces, which are still almost entire, adorned with innumerable columns and statues.<sup>5</sup> One palace especially is admired, the remains of which seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks, extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve as avenues to four porticoes, whose height is amazing to behold. And even they who have given us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it, and are not sure that they saw above half; however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which to all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by a hundred and twenty pillars, six fathoms round, of a proportionable height, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had displayed all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amid the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. Strabo, who was on the spot, describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.<sup>6</sup>

The same author,<sup>7</sup> describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains of which he had

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. xvii. p. 787.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. Il. i. ver. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. l. xvii. p. 816.

<sup>4</sup> Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Thevenot's Travels.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. xvii. p. 805.

<sup>7</sup> P. 816

seen. I: he said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, uttered an inarticulate sound.<sup>1</sup> And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

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## CHAPTER II.

### MIDDLE EGYPT, OR HEPTANOMIS.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt. In this city were to be seen many stately temples, especially that of the god Apis, who was honoured here in a particular manner. I shall speak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids, which stood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it so famous. Memphis was situated on the west side of the Nile.

Grand Cairo, which seems to have succeeded Memphis, was built on the other side of that river.<sup>2</sup> The castle of Cairo is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt. It stands on a hill, without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is surrounded with walls of a vast height and solidity. You go up to the castle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is so easy of ascent, that loaded horses and camels get up without difficulty. The greatest rarity in this castle is Joseph's well, so called, either because the Egyptians are pleased with ascribing what is most remarkable among them to that great man, or because there is really such a tradition in the country. This is a proof at least, that the work in question is very ancient; and it is certainly worth the magnificence of the most powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two stories, cut out of the solid rock to a prodigious depth. The descent to the reservoir of water, between the two wells, is by a staircase seven or eight feet broad, consisting of two hundred and twenty steps, and so contrived, that the oxen employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable ease, the descent being scarcely perceptible. The well is supplied from a spring, which is almost the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which a number of buckets are fastened. The water thus drawn from the first and lowermost well is conveyed, by a little canal, into a reservoir, which forms the second well, from whence it is drawn to the top, in the same manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the castle. As this well is supposed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deserve a place among the curiosities of ancient Egypt.

Strabo speaks of a similar engine, which, by wheels and pulleys, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a very high hill; with this difference, that instead of oxen, a hundred and fifty slaves were employed to turn these wheels.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuerit Memnonis saxæ effigies, ubi radiis solis lecta est vocalem sonum reddens, &c.—Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Thevenot.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. xvii. p. 367.

The part of Egypt of which we now speak is famous for several rarities, each of which deserves a particular examination. I shall mention only the principal, such as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the Lake of Moëris, and the Nile.

#### SECT. I.—THE OBELISKS.

EGYPT seemed to place its chief glory in raising monuments for posterity. Its obelisks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, despairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high spire or pyramid, raised perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to serve as an ornament to some open square; and is very often covered with inscriptions or hieroglyphics, that is, with mystical characters or symbols used by the Egyptians to conceal and disguise their sacred things, and the mysteries of their theology.

Sesostris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obelisks of extreme hard stone, brought from the quarries of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty feet.<sup>2</sup> The emperor Augustus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, caused these two obelisks to be transported to Rome, one of which was afterwards broken to pieces. He dared not venture upon a third, which was of a monstrous size.<sup>3</sup> It was made in the reign of Ramises: it is said that twenty thousand men were employed in the cutting of it. Constantius, more daring than Augustus, caused it to be removed to Rome. Two of these obelisks are still to be seen there, as well as another a hundred cubits, or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits, or two fathoms in diameter. Caius Cæsar had it brought from Egypt, in a ship of so odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been seen.<sup>4</sup>

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obelisks; they were for the most part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where some are now to be seen half finished. But the most wonderful circumstance is, that the ancient Egyptians should have had the art and contrivance to dig, even in the very quarry, a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raised up the columns, obelisks, and statues, on rafts<sup>5</sup> proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country was intersected every where with canals, there were few places to which those huge bodies might not be carried with ease, although their weight would have broken every other kind of engine.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. lib. I. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> It is proper to observe, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was one foot nine inches and about three-fourths of our measure.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.

## SECT. II.—THE PYRAMIDS.

A PYRAMID is a solid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a square base, and terminating in a point.<sup>1</sup>

There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof was justly ranked among the seven wonders of the world; they did not stand very far from the city of Memphis.<sup>2</sup> I shall take notice here of only the largest of the three. This pyramid, like the rest, was built on the rock, having a square base, cut on the outside as so many steps, and decreasing gradually, quite to the summit. It was built with stones of a prodigious size, the least of which were thirty feet, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to several ancient authors, each side was eight hundred feet broad, and as many high. The summit of the pyramid, which to those who viewed it from below seemed a point, was a fine platform, composed of ten or twelve massy stones, with each side of that platform sixteen or eighteen feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the Academy of Sciences, who went purposely to the spot in 1698, gives us the following dimensions:

|                                                                                                   |                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| The side of the square base . . . . .                                                             | 110 fathoms.              |
| The fronts are equilateral triangles, and there-<br>fore the superficies of the base is . . . . } | 12,100 square<br>fathoms. |
| The perpendicular height . . . . .                                                                | 77½ fathoms.              |
| The solid contents . . . . .                                                                      | 318,590 cubical fathoms.  |

A hundred thousand men were constantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. Ten complete years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immense edifice, the inside of which contained numberless rooms and apartments. There were expressed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the sums it cost only for garlic, leeks, onions, and other vegetables, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver, that is, four millions five hundred thousand French livres;<sup>3</sup> from whence it was easy to conjecture what a vast sum the whole expense must have amounted to.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as size, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the barbarians. But what efforts soever men may make, their nothingness will always appear. These pyramids were tombs; and there is still to be seen, in the middle of the largest, an empty sarcophagus, cut out of one entire stone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above six feet long.<sup>4</sup> Thus, all this bustle, all this expense, and all the labours of so many thousand men, ended in procuring for a prince, in this vast and almost boundless pile of building, a little vault six feet in length. Besides, the kings who built these pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them, and so did not enjoy the sepulchre they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reason of

Herod. l. ii. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 89—41. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 18. \* Vide Diod. Sic. About \$888,000.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo mentions this sarcophagus, lib. xvii. p. 808.



their unheard-of cruelties to their subjects, in laying such heavy tasks upon them, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

This last circumstance,<sup>1</sup> which historians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to pass on these edifices, so much boasted of by the ancients. It is but just to remark and esteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the earliest times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without deviating in the least from a noble simplicity, in which the highest perfection of the art consists. But what idea ought we to form of those princes, who considered as something grand the raising by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immense structures, with the sole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not scruple to destroy thousands of their subjects to satisfy their vain-glory? They differed very much from the Romans, who sought to immortalize themselves by works of a magnificent kind, but, at the same time, of public utility.

Pliny gives us, in a few words, a just idea of these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; *Regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*. And adds, that by a just punishment their memory is buried in oblivion; the historians not agreeing among themselves about the names of those who first raised those vain monuments. *Inter eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissima casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.*<sup>2</sup> In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the industry of the architects of those pyramids is no less valuable and praiseworthy than the design of the Egyptian kings contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we should most admire in these ancient monuments, is, the true and standing evidence they give of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy; that is, in a science which seems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long series of years, and a great number of observations. M. de Chazelles, when he measured the great pyramid in question, found that the four sides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and consequently showed the true meridian of that place. Now, as so exact a situation was in all probability purposely pitched upon by those who piled up this huge mass of stones, above three thousand years ago; it follows, that during so long a space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or, which amounts to the same thing, in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark, in his eulogy of M. de Chazelles.

### SECT. III. — THE LABYRINTH.

WHAT has been said, concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may also be applied to the labyrinth, which Herodotus,

<sup>1</sup> Diod. lib. i. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

who saw it, assures us was still more surprising than the pyramids.<sup>1</sup> It was built at the southern extremity of the lake of Mœris, whereof mention will be made presently, near the town of Crocodiles, the same with Arsinoë. It was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, regularly disposed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interspersed with terraces, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet to such as went to see them. There was the like number of buildings under ground. These subterraneous structures were designed for the burying-place of the kings, and also, (who can speak this without confusion, and without deploring the blindness of man!) for keeping the sacred crocodiles which a nation, so wise in other respects, worshipped as gods.

In order to visit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was necessary, as the reader will naturally suppose, for people to take the same precaution as Ariadne made Theseus use, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil describes it in this manner :

Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta  
 Parietibus textum cæcis iter ancipitemque  
 Mille viis habuisse dolum, quæ signa sequendi  
 Falleret indeprensus et irremediabilis error.<sup>2</sup>  
 Hic labor ille domus, et inextricabilis error.  
 Dædalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,  
 Cœca regens illo vestigia.<sup>3</sup>

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,  
 With wand'ring ways, and many a winding fold,  
 Involv'd the weary feet without redress,  
 In a round error, which deny'd recess:  
 Not far from thence he grav'd the wondrous mass;  
 A thousand doors, a thousand winding ways.

#### SECT. IV.—THE LAKE OF MŒRIS.

THE noblest and most wonderful of all the structures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Mœris; accordingly, Herodotus considers it as vastly superior to the pyramids and labyrinth.<sup>4</sup> As Egypt was more or less fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in these floods, the too great or too little rise of the waters was equally fatal to the lands; king Mœris, to prevent these two inconveniences, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the assistance of nature; and so caused the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This lake was in circumference about three thousand six hundred stadia, that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep.<sup>5</sup> Two pyramids, on each of which was placed a colossal statue, seated on a throne, raised their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midst of the lake, while their foundations took up the same space under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonstration that a lake of such vast extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 18. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811.

<sup>2</sup> Æneid, l. v. 588, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Æneid, l. v. vi. 27, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 149. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787. Diod. l. i. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Mela, l. i.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Herod. and Diod. Pliny agrees almost with them.

reign. This is what several historians have related concerning the lake Mæris, on the testimony of the inhabitants of the country. And M. Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, in his discourse on Universal History, relates the whole as fact. For my part, I will confess that I do not see the least probability in it. Is it possible to conceive, that a lake of a hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What should prompt the Egyptians to lose the surface of so much land? By what arts could they fill this vast tract with the superfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion, therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer; especially as his account is confirmed by several modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is about twenty thousand paces, that is, seven or eight French leagues in circumference. *Mæris aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.*<sup>1</sup>

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal more than four leagues long,<sup>2</sup> and fifty feet broad. Great sluices either opened or shut the canal and lake, as occasion required.

The charge of opening or shutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thousand French crowns.<sup>3</sup> The fishing of this lake brought to the monarch immense sums; but its chief use related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it arose too high, and was like to be attended with fatal consequences, the sluices were opened; and the waters, having a free passage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a sufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands. In this manner, the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty ensued; and even when it rose but to eight cubits, the dearth was scarce felt in the country; doubtless, because the waters of the lake made up for those of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

#### SECT. V.—THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE Nile is the greatest wonder of Egypt. As it seldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, supplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet say ingeniously, *The Egyptian pastures, how great soever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain.*

*“Te propter nullus tellus tua postulat imbres,  
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi.”*<sup>4</sup>

To multiply so beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberless canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different situations and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with

<sup>1</sup> Mela, l. i.

<sup>2</sup> Eighty-five stadia.

<sup>3</sup> \$55,000.

<sup>4</sup> Seneca (Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2) ascribes these verses to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

its salutary streams; united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom against the enemy; so that it was at once the nourisher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities, that were raised with immense labour, and stood like islands in the midst of the waters, looked down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the same time enriched, by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, so famous among the ancients. But a wonder so astonishing in itself, and which has been the object of the curiosity and admiration of the learned in all ages, seems to require a more particular description, in which I shall be as concise as possible.

#### I. THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

THE ancients placed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly called), in the 10th degree of south latitude. But our modern travellers have discovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the course which the ancients gave that river. It rises at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Gojam in Abyssinia, from two springs, or eyes, to speak in the language of the country, the same word in Arabic signifying eye and fountain. These springs are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach wheel. The Nile is increased with many rivulets which run into it; and after passing through Ethiopia in a very winding course, flows at last into Egypt.

#### II. THE CATARACTS OF THE NILE.

THIS name is given to some parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the steep rocks.<sup>1</sup> This river, which at first glided smoothly along the vast deserts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, passes by the cataracts. Then growing on a sudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in those places where it is pent up and restrained; after having at last broke through all obstacles in its sway, it precipitates itself from the top of some rocks to the bottom, with so loud a noise that it is heard three leagues off.

The inhabitants of the country, accustomed by long practice to this sport, exhibit here a spectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long sustained the violence

<sup>1</sup> Exeipiant eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis insigni spectaculo locus.—Illic excitatis primùm aquis, quas sine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus et torrens per malignos transitus proscillit, dissimilis sibi—tandemque elucatus obstantia, in vastam altitudinem subito destitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum strepitu; quem perferre gens ibi à Persis collocata non potuit, obtusis assiduo fragore auribus, et ob hoc sedibus ad quietiora translatis. Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia conscendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam insaniam Nilii et reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuissimos canales tenent, per quos angusta rupium effugiunt: et cum toto flumine effusi navigium ruens manu temperant, magnoque spectantium metu in caput nixi, cum jam adploraveris mersosque atque obrutos tantà mole credideris, longè ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo missæ. Nec mergit cadens unda, sed planis aquis tradit.—Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dexterously, they suffer themselves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as swift as an arrow. The affrighted spectator imagines they are going to be swallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, restored to its natural course, discovers them again, at a considerable distance, on its smooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

### III. CAUSES OF THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE ancients have invented many subtle reasons for the Nile's great increase, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca.<sup>1</sup> But it is now no longer a matter of dispute, it being almost universally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. These rains swell it to such a degree, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and over-spreads the whole country.

Strabo observes, that the ancients only guessed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia: but adds, that several travellers have since been eye-witnesses of it;<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to the arts and sciences, having sent hither able persons, purposely to examine this matter, and to ascertain the cause of so uncommon and remarkable an effect.

### IV. THE TIME AND CONTINUANCE OF THE INUNDATIONS.

HERODOTUS,<sup>3</sup> and after him Diodorus Siculus, and several other authors, declare that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the summer solstice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to rise till the end of September, and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees very nearly with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, viz. the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must consequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and, accordingly, travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at the first, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus, on the other. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and suppose the Nile to

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 19—27. Dioc. l. i. p. 35—39. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 1. et 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. xvii. p. 789.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Dioc. l. i. p. 34.

retire from the lands in three months, or a hundred days. And what adds to the difficulty is, that Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in libra, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

#### V. THE HEIGHT OF THE INUNDATION.

THE just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits.<sup>1</sup> When it rises but twelve or thirteen, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds sixteen, there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and a half. The emperor Julian takes notice, in a letter to Eodicius, prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362.<sup>2</sup> The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which it is hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observers and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approached the sea.

As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase were carefully considered; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce.<sup>3</sup> The kings had placed at Memphis a measure on which these different increases were marked; and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promise themselves from the harvest. Strabo speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile, near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.<sup>4</sup>

The same custom is observed to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is risen. The tribute paid to the grand signior for the lands, is regulated by the inundation. The day on which it rises to a certain height, is kept as a grand festival, and solemnized with fire-works, feasting, and all the demonstrations of public rejoicing; and in the remotest ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an universal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happiness.

The heathens ascribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increase, was preserved religiously in the temple of that idol.<sup>5</sup> The Emperor Constantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria,

<sup>1</sup> *Justum incrementum est cubitorum xvi. Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores detinent, tardius recedendo. Hæ serendi tempora absumunt solo madente: illæ non dant sitiente. Utrumque reputat provincia. In duodecim cubitis famem sentit, in tredecim etiamnum esurit: quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim ælicias.—Plin. l. v. c. 9.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jul. epist. 50.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. xvii. p. 817.*

<sup>4</sup> *Diod. l. i. p. 83.*

<sup>5</sup> *Socrat. l. i. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 3.*

the Egyptians spread a report, that the Nile would rise no more by reason of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increased as usual the following years. Julian, the apostate, a zealous protector of idolatry, caused this pillar to be replaced in the same temple out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodosius.

#### VI. THE CANALS OF THE NILE, AND SPIRAL PUMPS.

DIVINE Providence, in giving so beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing, without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labour was to be used to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stood very thick on the banks of the Nile, on eminences, had each their canals, which were opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages had theirs also, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters were successively conveyed to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at a certain height, nor to open them altogether; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is husbanded with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals is so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned with oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. Diodorus speaks of a similar engine, called *Cochlea Egyptia*, invented by Archimedes, in his travels into Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

#### VII. THE FERTILITY CAUSED BY THE NILE.

THERE is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely to the Nile. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired.<sup>2</sup> The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. p. 30. et lib. v. p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Cum ceteri amnes ablant terras et eviscerent, Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adficiat vires. — Ita juvat agros duabus ex causis, et quod innundat, et quod oblimat. — Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and at little or no expense. Two months after, it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians sow in October and November, according as the waters recede, and their harvest is in March and April.

The same land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettuces and cucumbers are sown first: then corn; and, after harvest, several sorts of pulse, which are peculiar to Egypt. As the sun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very seldom in it, it is natural to suppose, that the earth would soon be parched, and the corn and pulse burnt up by so scorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reservoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply supply wherewith to water and refresh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no less to the nourishment of cattle, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to grass in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never express how rich their pastures are, and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reason of the mildness of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut straw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, says Corneille le Bruyn in his Travels,<sup>1</sup> help observing the admirable providence of God to this country, who sends at a fixed season such great quantities of rain in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarce ever falls; and who by that means causes the driest and most sandy soil to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe.

Another thing to be observed here is, that, as the inhabitants say, in the beginning of June, and the four following months, the north-east winds blow constantly, in order to keep back the waters, which would otherwise flow too fast; and to hinder them from discharging themselves into the sea, the entrance to which these winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumstance.

The same Providence, whose ways are wonderful and infinitely various, displayed itself after a quite different manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceedingly fruitful; not by rains, which fell during the course of the year, as is usual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when his people were obedient to him, to make them more sensible of their continual dependence upon him.<sup>2</sup> God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflection.<sup>3</sup> *The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.* After this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, *the former and the latter rain:*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Multiformis sapientia*, Eph. iii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xi. 10—13.



the first in autumn, to bring up the corn: and the second in the spring and summer, to make it grow and ripen.

#### VIII. THE DIFFERENT PROSPECTS EXHIBITED BY THE NILE.

THERE cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year.<sup>1</sup> For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeys leading from place to place; the whole interspersed with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops only are visible, all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds, on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms of the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure, that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead as it were in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

#### IX. THE CANAL FORMED BY THE NILE, BY WHICH A COMMUNICATION IS MADE BETWEEN THE TWO SEAS.

THE canal,<sup>2</sup> by which a communication was made between the Red Sea and Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the least advantages which the Nile procured to Egypt. Sesostria, or, according to others, Psammeticus, first projected the design, and began this work. Necho, successor to the last prince, laid out immense sums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is said, that above six score thousand Egyptians perished in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for barbarians, for by this name they called all foreigners, to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the first of that name; but he also desisted from it, on his being told, that as the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at last finished under the Ptolomies, who, by the help of sluices, opened or shut the canal as there was occasion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubastus. It was a hundred cubits, that is, twenty-five fathoms broad, so that two vessels might pass with ease; it had depth enough to carry the largest ships, and was above a thousand stadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great service to Egypt. But it is now almost filled up, and there are scarce any remains of it to be seen:

<sup>1</sup> Illa facies pulcherrima est, cum jam se in agros Nilus ingessit. Latent campi, aperta:que sunt valles: oppida insularum modo extant. Nullum in Mediterraneo, nisi per navigia, commercium est; majorque est læticia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum suarum vident.— Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 158. Strab. l. xvii. p. 804. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Diocl. l. i. p. 29.

## CHAPTER III.

## LOWER EGYPT.

I AM now to speak of Lower Egypt. Its shape, which resembles a triangle, or delta  $\Delta$ , gave occasion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of island; it begins at a place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itself into the Mediterranean; the mouth on the right hand is called the Pelusian, and the other the Canopic, from the two cities in their neighbourhood, Pelusium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Rosetta. Between these two large branches, there are five others of less note. The island is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest part of Egypt. Its chief cities, very anciently, were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Pelusium; and, in later times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Israelites dwelt.

There was at Sais a temple dedicated to Minerva,<sup>1</sup> who is supposed to be the same as Isis, with the following inscription; *I am whatever hath been, and is, and shall be; and no mortal hath drawn aside my veil.*

Heliopolis,<sup>2</sup> that is, the city of the sun, was so called from a magnificent temple, there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate some particulars concerning the phoenix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or six hundred years, and is of the size of an eagle. His head is adorned with a shining and most beautiful crest; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the rest of a purple; his tail is white intermixed with red, and his eyes sparkling like stars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a nest with wood and aromatic spices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow a worm is produced, out of which another phoenix is formed. His first care is to solemnize his parent's obsequies, for which purpose he makes up a ball in the shape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh, as heavy as he can carry, which he often essays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he deposits his parent's body, and closes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his shoulders, and flying to the altar of the sun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus dispute the truth of some of the circumstances of this account, but seem to suppose it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falsehood,

<sup>1</sup> Plutar. de Isid. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. l. xvii. p. 806. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of phoenix to whatever is singular or uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*,<sup>1</sup> says Juvenal, speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. And Seneca observes the same of a good man.<sup>2</sup>

What is reported of swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the philosophers. *O mutis quoque piscibus donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum*,<sup>3</sup> says Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan. *Illa tanquam cynea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio*. De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans, who perceiving by a secret instinct, and sort of divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur*. Tusc. Qu. l. i. n. 78. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth; and return now to my subject.

It was in Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a god.<sup>4</sup> Cambyses, king of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almost in magnificence with the ancient cities in Egypt. It stands four days' journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the Eastern trade. The merchandize<sup>5</sup> was unloaded at Portus Muris,<sup>6</sup> a town on the western coast of the Red Sea; from whence it was brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Cophit, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants resorted from all parts.

It is well known that the East India trade has at all times enriched those who carried it on. This was the chief source of the vast treasures that Solomon amassed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jerusalem. David, by conquering Idumæa, became master of Elath and Esiongeber,<sup>7</sup> two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. From these two ports, Solomon sent fleets to Ophir and Tarshish,<sup>8</sup> which always brought back immense riches.<sup>9</sup> This traffic, after having been enjoyed some time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, passed from them into the hands of the Tyr-

<sup>1</sup> Sat. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest, nec intelligi — tanquam phoenix, semel anno quingentesimo nascitur. — Ep. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Od. iii. l. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. l. xvii. p. 605.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.

<sup>6</sup> Or, Myos Hormes.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 14.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Kings, ix. 26.

<sup>9</sup> He got in one voyage 450 talents of gold, 2 Chron. viii. 18, which amounts to fourteen millions three hundred and eighty-six thousand and six hundred dollars. — Prid. C<sup>o</sup>vert. vol. I. ad. ann. 740, note.

ians. These got all their merchandise conveyed by the way of Rhinoculura, a sea-port town, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine, to Tyre, from whence they distributed them all over the western world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themselves exceedingly, under the Persian empire, by the favour and protection of whose monarchs they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themselves masters of Egypt, they soon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the western side of the Red Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby rose to be the city of the greatest trade in the world.<sup>1</sup> There it continued for many centuries after; and all the traffic, which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was discovered, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to these parts by the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time were masters of this trade; but now it is in a manner engrossed by the English and Dutch. This short account of the East India trade, from Solomon's time to the present age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux.<sup>2</sup>

For the convenience of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an island called Pharos, a tower which bore the same name.<sup>3</sup> At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light such ships as sailed by night near those dangerous coasts, which were full of sands and shelves; from whence all other towers designed for the same use have been called, as Pharo di Messina, &c. The famous architect Sostratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it.<sup>4</sup> It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. Some, through a mistake, have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own.<sup>5</sup> It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Sostratus Cnidius Dexiphaniæ F. Dis Servatoribus, pro navigantibus: i. e.* Sostratus, the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of sea-faring people. But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally very fond of, to suffer that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us that Sostratus, to engross the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereupon put the king's name. The lime soon mouldered away: and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flat-

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. xvi. p. 481.    <sup>2</sup> Part I. l. i. p. 9.    <sup>3</sup> Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Eight hundred thousand crowns, or almost eight hundred and eleven thousand dollars.

<sup>5</sup> Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permisit Sostrati Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi. — Plin.

tered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud and ridiculous vanity.<sup>1</sup>

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb.<sup>2</sup> In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated; witness that stately edifice, surnamed the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the public expense: and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the munificence of the kings, his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. In Cæsar's wars with the Alexandrians,<sup>3</sup> part of this library, situate in the Bruchion,<sup>4</sup> which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

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## PART SECOND.

### OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT was ever considered by all the ancients as the most renowned school for wisdom and politics, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This kingdom bestowed its noblest labours and finest arts on the improvement of mankind; and Greece was so sensible of this, that its most illustrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, even its great legislators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needless to mention, travelled into Egypt to complete their studies, and draw from that fountain whatever was most rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himself has given this kingdom a glorious testimony. When praising Moses, he says of him, that *He was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*<sup>5</sup>

To give some idea of the manners and customs of Egypt, I shall confine myself principally to these particulars: its kings and government; priests and religion; soldiers and war; sciences, arts, and trades.

The reader must not be surprised, if he sometimes finds, in the customs I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumstance is owing, either to the difference of countries and nations which did not always follow the same usages, or to the different way of thinking of the historians whom I copy.

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## CHAPTER I.

### CONCERNING THE KINGS AND GOVERNMENT.

THE Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. A nation so grave and serious, immediately

De Scribend. Hist. p. 706.

<sup>2</sup> Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda delicia. — Quintil.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

<sup>4</sup> A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.

<sup>5</sup> Acts vii. 22.

perceived, that the true end of politics is to make life easy, and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary; but, according to Diodorus, the Egyptian princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions but his own arbitrary will and pleasure.<sup>1</sup> But here, kings were under greater restraints than their subjects. They had some particular ones, digested by a former monarch, that composed part of those books which the Egyptians called sacred. Thus, every thing being settled by ancient custom, they never sought to live in a different way from their ancestors.

No slave nor foreigner was admitted into the immediate service of the prince; such a post was too important to be entrusted to any persons, except those who were the most distinguished by their birth, and had received the most excellent education; to the end that, as they had the liberty of approaching the king's person day and night, he might, from men so qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majesty; or have any sentiments instilled into him, but such as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely seen, that kings fly out into any vicious excess unless those who approach them approve their irregularities, or serve as instruments to their passions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of their estates and liquids to be prescribed them, (a thing customary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all sober, and whose air inspired frugality,) but even that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day-break, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received, to form a more just and distinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their consideration that day.

As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple; where, surrounded with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-priest, in which he asked of the gods health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high-priest entered into a long detail of his royal virtues; observing that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere; an enemy to falsehood, liberal, master of his passions, punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but boundless in rewarding merit. He never spoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of, but supposed at the same time, that they never committed any, except by surprise or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveying instruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual

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<sup>1</sup> Diad. l. l. p. 63, &c.

method to inspire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifice were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I have already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were prescribed by the laws to the king; his table was covered with nothing but the most common food, because eating in Egypt was designed not to please the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded, (observes the historian,) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things, and we read in Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with imprecations against that king who first introduced profusion and luxury into Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The principal duty of kings, and their most essential function, is the administering of justice to their subjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the ease and comfort of individuals, but the happiness of the state; which would be a herd of robbers, rather than a kingdom, should the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled, by their riches and influence, to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were selected out of the principal cities, to form a body for dispensing justice through the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling these vacancies, chose such as were most renowned for their honesty, and put at their head him who was most distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the most universal esteem. By his bounty, they had revenues assigned them, to the end that, being freed from domestic cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus, honourably maintained by the generosity of the prince, they administered gratuitously to the people, that justice to which they have a natural right, and which ought to be equally open to all; and, in some sense, to the poor more than the rich, because the latter find a support within themselves; whereas the very condition of the former exposes them more to injuries, and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard against surprise, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That false eloquence was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the passions. Truth could not be expressed with too much plainness, as it was to have the only sway in judgments; because in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security. The president of this senate wore a collar of gold set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the president put this collar on, it was understood as a signal to enter

<sup>1</sup> De Isid. et Osir. p. 284.

upon business. He touched the party with it who was to gain his cause, and this was the form of passing sentence.

The most excellent circumstance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual, from his infancy, was nurtured in the strictest observance of them. A new custom in Egypt was a kind of miracle. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance; consequently no nation ever preserved their laws and customs longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was punished with death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether he was free-born or otherwise.<sup>2</sup> In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians was superior to that of the Romans, who gave the master an absolute power as to life and death over his slave. The emperor Adrian, indeed, abolished this law, from an opinion, that an abuse of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever so great.

Perjury was also punished with death, because that crime attacks both the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a false oath; and men, by breaking the strongest tie of human society, viz. sincerity and honesty.<sup>3</sup>

The false accuser was condemned to undergo the punishment which the person accused was to suffer, had the accusation been proved.<sup>4</sup>

He who had neglected or refused to save a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to assist him, was punished as rigorously as the assassin; but if the unfortunate person could not be succoured, the offender was at least to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind.<sup>5</sup> Thus the subjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united against the designs of the bad.

No man was allowed to be useless to the state; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a public register, that remained in the hands of the magistrate, and to state his profession and means of support.<sup>6</sup> If he gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

To prevent the borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicane, king Asychus made a very judicious law.<sup>7</sup> The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties, in contriving a just medium to restrain, on the one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and, on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now, Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and without doing an injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy in case he were dishonest. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care, and kept reverentially in his house, (as will be observed in the sequel,) and therefore might easily

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Tim. p. 656.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Page 69.

<sup>4</sup> Idem.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Idem.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 136.



be moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honour paid to the dead.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators.<sup>2</sup> They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and getting their bread: but at the same time they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves, who alone were capable of using these implements; which exposed them to the same inconveniences, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belong, and are necessary to it; who labour for the public emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to priests, who could marry but one woman.<sup>3</sup> Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

One custom that was practised in Egypt, shows the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged; and this is the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authorized by the laws, but even, in some measure, was a part of their religion, from the example and practice of such of their gods as had been the most anciently and universally adored in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.<sup>4</sup>

A very great respect was there paid to old age. The young were obliged to rise up for the old, and on every occasion to resign to them the most honourable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.<sup>5</sup>

The virtue in the highest esteem among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shows that they were the best formed of any nation for social life. Benefits are the band of concord, both public and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that it is impossible for a man to be insensible to it: but no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleasing satisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, while living, were by them honoured as so many visible representations of the Deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness, proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the Divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others are united in their persons.

<sup>1</sup> This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: the debtor refusing to discharge his obligation was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and while he lived he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him. *Μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ταφῆσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κურῆσαι — μηδ' ἄλλοιμνηθῆνα τὸν αὐτῷ ἀπο γενόμενον θάψαι.* — Herod.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. c. p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Idem. p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. l. ii. p. 20

## CHAPTER II.

## CONCERNING THE PRIESTS AND RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS.

PRIESTS, in Egypt, held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, *Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.*<sup>1</sup>

The prince usually honoured them with a large share in his confidence and government, because they, of all his subjects, had received the best education, had acquired the greatest knowledge, and were most strongly attached to the king's person and the good of the public. They were at the same time the depositaries of religion and of the sciences; and to this circumstance was owing the great respect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike consulted upon the most sacred things relating to the mysteries of religion, and the most profound subjects in the several sciences.

The Egyptians pretend to be the first institutors of festivals and processions in honour of the gods. One festival was celebrated in the city of Bubastus, whither persons resorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards of seventy thousand, besides children, were seen at it. Another, surnamed the Feast of the Lights, was solemnized at Sais. All persons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate their windows.<sup>2</sup>

Different animals were sacrificed in different countries; but one common and general ceremony was observed in all sacrifices, viz. the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the same time with imprecations, and praying the gods to divert upon that victim all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

It is to Egypt that Pythagoras owed his favourite doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men, their souls transmigrated into other human bodies; and that, if they had been vicious, they were imprisoned in the bodies of unclean or ill-conditioned beasts, to expiate in them their past transgressions: and that after a revolution of some centuries, they again animated other human bodies.<sup>4</sup>

The priests had the possession of the sacred books, which contained, at large, the principles of government, as well as the mysteries of divine worship. Both were commonly involved in symbols and enigmas, which under these veils made truth more venerable, and excited more strongly the curiosity of men.<sup>5</sup> The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian sanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, seemed to intimate, that mysteries were there inclosed, the knowledge of which was revealed but to very few. The sphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the same. It is very well known, that pyra-

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvii. 26.<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 60.<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 39.<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 88.<sup>5</sup> Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 354.

mids, obelisks, pillars, statues, in a word, all public monuments, were usually adorned with hieroglyphics, that is, with symbolical writings; whether these were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, under which was couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. Thus, by a hare was signified a lively and piercing attention, because this creature has a very delicate sense of hearing.<sup>1</sup> The statue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground, symbolized the duties of those who were to exercise the judiciary functions.<sup>2</sup>

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I shall confine myself to two articles, which form the principal part of it; and these are, the worship of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

#### SECT. I.—THE WORSHIP OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.

NEVER were any people more superstitious than the Egyptians. They had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I shall omit, because they belong more to fable than to history. Among the rest, two were universally adored in that country, and these were Osiris and Isis, which are thought to be the sun and moon; and, indeed, the worship of those planets gave rise to idolatry.

Besides these gods, the Egyptians worshipped a great number of beasts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the ibis,<sup>3</sup> the cat, &c. Many of these beasts were the objects of the superstition only of some particular cities; and while one people worshipped one species of animals as gods, the neighbours had the same animal gods in abomination. This was the source of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the false policy of one of their kings, who to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conspiring against the state, endeavoured to amuse them, by engaging them in religious contests. I call this a false and mistaken policy, because it directly thwarts the true spirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the strictest ties, and to make all its strength consist in the perfect harmony of its several parts.

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. "Among us," says Cicero, "it is very common to see temples robbed, and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, a cat; for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege."<sup>4</sup> It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; and even punishment was decreed against him who should have killed an ibis, or a cat, with or without design.<sup>5</sup> Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness, during his stay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat, the exasperated populace ran to his house, and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Sympos. l. iv. p. 670.

<sup>2</sup> Id. de Isid. p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> Or the Egyptian stork.

<sup>4</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82. Tus. Quæst. l. v. n. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 65.

of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal.<sup>1</sup> And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous.<sup>2</sup> Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him, while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis dying of old age,<sup>3</sup> the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expenses, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns.<sup>4</sup> After the last honours had been paid to the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor, and all Egypt was sought through for that purpose. He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyses, at his return from his unfortunate expedition against Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in transports of joy for the discovery of their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an insult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the first impulse of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a short enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf, set up near Mount Sinai by the Israelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam, who had resided a considerable time in Egypt, in the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incense to animals, carried their folly to such an excess, as to ascribe a divinity to the pulse and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniously reproached by the satirist.

Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,  
 What monster gods her frantic sons have fram'd?  
 Here Ibis gorged with well-grown serpents, there  
 The Crocodile commands religious fear:  
 Where Memnon's statue magic strains inspire  
 With vocal sounds that emulate the lyre;  
 And Thebes, such, Fate, are thy disastrous turns,  
 Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;  
 A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!  
 Strikes the beholder's eye with burnish'd gold:  
 To godship here blue Triton's scaly herd,  
 The river progeny is there preferr'd:

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 74, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 76. Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years, and was drowned in the priest's well.—Non est fas eum certos vitæ excedere annos, mensurumque in sacerdotum fonte emecant.—Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 46

<sup>4</sup> \$55,000.

Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,  
 Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise:  
 And should you leeks or onions eat, no time  
 Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.  
 Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,  
 Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods!<sup>1</sup>

It is astonishing to see a nation, which boasted its superiority above all others with regard to wisdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itself to the most gross and ridiculous superstitions. Indeed, to read of animals, and vile insects, honoured with religious worship, placed in temples, and maintained with great care at an extravagant expense;<sup>2</sup> to read, that those who murdered them were punished with death; and that these animals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs assigned them by the public; to hear that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities, were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succour and protection; are absurdities which we, at this distance of time, can scarcely believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, says Lucian,<sup>3</sup> into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many palaces, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them.

Several reasons are given for the worship paid to animals by the Egyptians.<sup>4</sup>

The first is drawn from fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship which was afterwards paid to those animals.

The second is taken from the benefit which these several animals procure to mankind:<sup>5</sup> oxen by their labour; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting and guarding houses, whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog's head; the Ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipped, because he put to flight the winged serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously infested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprising strength and size,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualis demens  
 Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat  
 Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.  
 Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopithecæ,  
 Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,  
 Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.  
 Illic cæruleos, hic pisces fluminis, illic  
 Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.  
 Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere moram.  
 O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis  
 Numina!

Juven. Satir. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus affirms, that in his time, the expense amounted to no less than one hundred thousand crowns, or \$110,000.—Lib. i. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Imag.

<sup>4</sup> Diad. l. i. p. 77, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Ipsi qui irridentur Ægyptii, nullam belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem quam ex ea caperunt, consecraverunt.—Cic. lib. i. De Natura Deor. n. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Which, according to Herodotus, is more than 17 cubits in length, L. ii. c. 68.

was worshipped, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the Ichneumon was adored, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have proved destructive to Egypt. Now, the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he sleeps upon the banks of the Nile, which he always does with his mouth open, this small animal, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth, gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the skin of which is very tender, he escapes with safety; and thus, by his address and subtlety, returns victorious over so terrible an enemy.

Philosophers, not satisfied with reasons, which were too trifling to account for such strange absurdities as dishonoured the heathen system, and at which themselves secretly blushed, have, since the establishment of Christianity, supposed a third reason for the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared that it was not offered to the animals themselves, but to the gods of whom they are symbols. Plutarch, in his treatise,<sup>1</sup> where he examines professedly the pretensions of Isis and Osiris, the two most famous deities of the Egyptians, says as follows: "Philosophers honour the image of God wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, and consequently more in those which have life. We are therefore to approve, not the worshippers of these animals, but those who, by their means, ascend to the Deity; they are to be considered as so many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being displays himself in a wonderful manner; or, as so many instruments, which he makes use of to manifest outwardly his incomprehensible wisdom. Should men, therefore, for the embellishing of statues, amass together all the gold and precious stones in the world, the worship must not be referred to the statues, for the Deity does not exist in colours artfully disposed, nor in frail matter destitute of sense and motion." Plutarch says in the same treatise,<sup>2</sup> that "as the sun and moon, heaven and earth, and the sea, are common to all men, but have different names according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one Deity and one Providence, which governs the universe, and which has several subaltern ministers under it, men give to the Deity, which is the same, different names; and pay it different honours, according to the laws and customs of every country."

But were these reflections, which offer the most rational vindication possible of idolatrous worship, sufficient to cover the absurdity of it? Could it be called exalting the divine attributes in a suitable manner, to direct the worshipper to admire and seek for the image of them in beasts of the most vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, serpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debasing the Deity, of whom even the most stupid usually entertain a much greater and more august idea?

And even these philosophers were not always so just, as to ascend

<sup>1</sup> Page 352.

<sup>2</sup> Page 377, et 378.

from sensible beings to their invisible Author. The Scriptures tell us that these pretended sages deserved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be *given over to a reprobate mind; and while they professed themselves wise, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.*<sup>1</sup> To show what man is when left to himself, God permitted that very nation which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre in which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other side, to display the Almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deserts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise, by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety and rigorous penance have done so much honour to the Christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it; and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

The great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abbé Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> The public edifices, and idol temples, had been converted into monasteries, and these were likewise more in number than the private houses. The monks lodged even over the gates, and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratories belonging to the monasteries. There were twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. By order of the magistrates, sentinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and the inhabitants vied with each other who should first receive them, in order to have an opportunity of exercising their hospitality towards them.

#### SECT. II. — THE CEREMONIES OF THE EGYPTIAN FUNERALS.

I SHALL now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead, and the religious care taken to provide sepulchres for them, seem to insinuate an universal persuasion, that bodies were lodged in sepulchres merely as a deposit or trust.

We have already observed, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence sepulchres were built in Egypt, for, besides that they were erected as so many sacred monuments, destined to transmit to future times the memory of great princes, they were likewise considered as the mansions where the body was to remain during a long succession of ages; whereas, common houses were called inns, in which men were to abide only as travellers, and that during the course of a life which was too short to engage their affections.<sup>3</sup>

When any person in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their usual habits, and put on mourning; and abstained from

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. v. 22, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Tom. v. p. 25, 26.

Diod. l. i. p. 47.

baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning continued from forty to seventy days; probably according to the quality of the person.

Bodies were embalmed three different ways.<sup>1</sup> The most magnificent was bestowed on persons of distinguished rank, and the expense amounted to a talent of silver, or three thousand French livres.<sup>2</sup>

Many hands were employed in this ceremony.\* Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone that was as sharp as a razor; after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation, (which was necessarily attended with some dissections,) seemed in some measure cruel and inhuman, the persons employed fled as soon as the operation was over, and were pursued with stones by the spectators. But those who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all sorts of spices. After a certain time, the body was swathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted over with the most exquisite perfumes. By this means, it is said, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hair on the lids and eye-brows, were preserved in their natural perfection. The body thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who shut it up in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corpse; then they placed it upright against the wall, either in sepulchres, if they had any, or in their houses. These embalmed bodies are now what we call mummies, which are still brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This shows the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceased relations was immortal. Children, by seeing the bodies of their ancestors thus preserved, recalled to mind those virtues for which the public had honoured them; and were excited to a love of those laws which such excellent persons had left for their security. We find that part of these ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours paid to Joseph in Egypt.

I have said that the public recognised the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable to be found in ancient history.

It was a consolation, among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him, imagining that this is the only human blessing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honour was to be obtained only from the public voice. The assembly of the judges met on the other side of a lake, which they crossed in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Cha-

\* Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.

<sup>1</sup> About \$610.

<sup>2</sup> Died. l. i. p. 81.



ron's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people admired the power of the laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and his family. But if the deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honourable manner.

A still more astonishing circumstance in this public inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne itself was no protection from it. Kings were spared during their lives, because the public peace was concerned in this forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment passed upon the dead, and even some of them were deprived of sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see in Scripture, that bad kings were not interred in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of men's judgment while they were alive, they would at last be liable to it, when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

When, therefore, a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceased person, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyric, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praises were considered as just or true, but such as related to the personal merit of the deceased. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people shouted, and bestowed the highest eulogies on the deceased, as one who would be received for ever into the society of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners in which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, exposed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preserved them to after ages. Others, as the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile; and others, again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular for whom this respect is designed; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity, since, whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in destroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust of which they were at first formed.

## CHAPTER III.

## OF THE EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS AND WAR.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguished by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every soldier was allowed twelve *arouræ*, that is, a piece of arable land, very nearly answering to half a French acre,<sup>1</sup> exempt from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a quart of wine.<sup>2</sup> This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in the defence of both; and, as Diodorus observes, it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country to men who had no interest in its preservation.<sup>3</sup>

Four hundred thousand soldiers were kept in continual pay, all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline.<sup>4</sup> They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse, and chariot races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not show better horsemen than the Egyptians. The Scripture in several places speaks advantageously of their cavalry.<sup>5</sup>

Military laws were easily preserved in Egypt, because sons received them from their fathers; the profession of war, as all others, being transmitted from father to son. Those who fled in battle, or discovered any signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by some particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more advisable to restrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of punishment.

But notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say that the Egyptians were a warlike people.<sup>6</sup> It is of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exercised in peace, and employed only in mock-fights; it is war alone, and real combats, which form the soldier. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice, and maintained soldiers only for its security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conquest. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws

<sup>1</sup> Twelve *arouræ*. An Egyptian *aroura* was 10,000 square cubits, equal to three rods, two perches,  $55\frac{1}{2}$  square feet of our measure.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek is *ελευ ρίναςες δρωσήςες*, which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid; others, regarding the etymology of the word *δρωσήςες*, have translated it by *ἀουστράμ*, a bucket, as Lucretius, lib. v. l. 51; others, by *ἀουάτις*, a draught or *sup.* Herodotus says this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards who attended annually on the kings.—Lib. ii. c. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. p. 67. <sup>4</sup> Herod. i. ii. c. 164, 168. <sup>5</sup> Cant. i. 8. Isa. xxxvi. 9. <sup>6</sup> Diod. p. 76.

and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conquest. But nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to illustrious conquerors, as will be observed hereafter, when we come to treat of its kings.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### OF THEIR ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and turned it to profitable speculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it scarcely ignorant of any thing which could contribute to accomplish the mind, or procure ease and happiness. The discoverers of any useful invention received, both living and dead, rewards worthy of their profitable labours. It is this which consecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and stamped them with a divine authority. The first libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore, inspired an eager desire to enter them, and dive into the secrets they contained. They were called the "Remedy for the Diseases of the Soul,"<sup>1</sup> and that very justly, because the soul was there cured of ignorance, the most dangerous, and the parent of all other maladies.

As their country was level, and the air of it always serene and unclouded, they were among the first who observed the courses of the planets. These observations led them to regulate the year, from the course of the sun; for, as Diodorus observes, their year, from the most remote antiquity, was composed of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours.<sup>2</sup> To adjust the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveys; and this first taught them geometry. They were great observers of nature, which, in a climate so serene, and under so intense a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this study and application, they invented or improved the science of physic. The sick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success; otherwise a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked, indeed, the temerity of empirics; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to

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<sup>1</sup> ψυχῆς ἰατρικόν.

<sup>2</sup> It will not seem surprising that the Egyptians, who were the most ancient observers of the celestial motions, should have arrived to this knowledge, when it is considered, that the lunar year, made use of by the Greeks and Romans, though it appears so inconvenient and irregular, supposed nevertheless a knowledge of the solar year, such as Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Egyptians. It will appear at first sight, by calculating their intercalations, that those who first divided the year in this manner were not ignorant, that to three hundred and sixty-five days, some hours were to be added, to keep pace with the sun. Their only error lay in the supposition, that only six hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almost eleven minutes more was requisite.

its just perfection. Every physician, if Herodotus may be credited,<sup>1</sup> confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

What we have said of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obelisks, temples, and palaces, whose precious remains still strike us with admiration, and in which were displayed the magnificence of the princes who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts in which their greatest beauty consisted, seemed to vie with each other; works, in many of which the liveliness of the colours remains to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or destroys them: all this, I say, shows the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of that sort of exercise which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health;<sup>2</sup> and of music,<sup>3</sup> which they considered as a useless and dangerous diversion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

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## CHAPTER V.

### OF THEIR HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS, AND ARTIFICERS.

HUSBANDMEN, shepherds, and artificers, formed the three classes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheless had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds.<sup>4</sup> The body politic requires a superiority and subordination of its several members; for as in the natural body, the eye may be said to hold the first rank, yet its lustre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on those parts which are less honourable; in like manner, among the Egyptians, the priests, soldiers, and scholars, were distinguished by particular honours; but all professions, to the meanest, had their share in the public esteem, because the despising of any man whose labours, however mean, were useful to the state, was thought a crime.

A better reason than the foregoing, might have inspired them at the first with these sentiments of equity and moderation, which they so long preserved. As they all descended from Cham,<sup>5</sup> their common father, the memory of their still recent origin occurring to the minds of all in those first ages, established among them a kind of equality, and stamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every person derived from the common stock. Indeed, the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which persons of the lowest rank are treated, are owing merely to the distance from the common root; which makes us forget, that the meanest plebeian, when his descent is traced back to the source, is equally noble with those of the most elevated rank and title.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. c. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆ δὲ μουσικῆν νομιζοῦσιν ὁ μόνον ἄχρηστος ἐπάργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερὰν, ὡς ἐν ἐπιβλήουσιν τὰς αἰσθητικὰς ψυχῆς.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 67, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Or Ham.

Be that as it will, no profession in Egypt was considered as grovelling or sordid. By this means arts were raised to their highest perfection. The honour which cherished them, mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life assigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to son. Two professions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exercised from their infancy; and every man, adding his own experience to that of his ancestors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Besides, this wholesome institution, which had been established anciently throughout Egypt, extinguished all irregular ambition; and taught every man to sit down contented with his condition, without aspiring to one more elevated, from interest, vain-glory, or levity.

From this source flowed numberless inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more easy. I could not believe that Diodorus was in earnest in what he relates concerning the Egyptian industry, *viz.* that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the sitting of the hen;<sup>1</sup> but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our curiosity, and is said to be practised in some places of Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians stow eggs in ovens, which are heated to such a temperature, and with such just proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from these means are as strong as those which are hatched the natural way. The season of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During these four months, upwards of three hundred thousand eggs are laid in these ovens, which, though they are not all successful, nevertheless produce vast numbers of fowls at an easy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a due degree of heat, which must not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are bestowed in heating these ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, say these travellers, to observe the hatching of these chickens, some of which show at first nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; these last, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting spectacle. Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels,<sup>2</sup> has collected the observations of other travellers on this subject. Pliny likewise mentions it; but it appears from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs.<sup>3</sup>

I have said, that husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suffered.<sup>4</sup> It was, indeed, to these two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonish-

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Tom. ii. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. x. c. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Swineherds, in particular, had a general ill-name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 47, tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.

ing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

It will be always so with every kingdom, whose governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state policy. And we may consider it as a misfortune, that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem: though it is from them that the most elevated ranks, as we esteem them, are furnished not only with the necessaries, but even the luxuries of life. "For," says Abbé Fleury, in his admirable work 'Of the Manners of the Israelites,' where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, "it is the peasant who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentleman, the ecclesiastic: and whatever artifice or craft may be used to convert money into commodities, and these back again into money, yet all must ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the earth, and the animals that it sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, when we compare men's different stations of life together, we give the lowest place to the husbandman; and with many people a wealthy citizen, enervated with sloth, useless to the public, and void of all merit, has the preference, merely because he has more money, and lives a more easy and delightful life.

"But let us imagine to ourselves a country where so great a difference is not made between the several conditions; where the life of a nobleman is not made to consist in idleness and doing nothing, but in a careful preservation of his liberty, that is, in a due subjection to the laws and the constitution; by a man's subsisting upon his estate without dependence on any one, and being contented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a great deal at the price of mean and base compliances: a country, where sloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of things necessary for life, are held in just contempt, and where pleasure is less valued than health and bodily strength: in such a country, it will be much more for a man's reputation to plough, and keep flocks, than to waste all his hours in sauntering from place to place, in gaming, and expensive diversions." But we need not have recourse to Plato's commonwealth for instances of men who have led these useful lives. It was thus that the greatest part of mankind lived during near four thousand years; and that not only the Israelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to say, nations the most civilized, and most renowned for arms and wisdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture and the breeding of cattle; one of which, (without saying any thing of hemp and flax, so necessary for our clothing,) supplies us, by corn, fruits, and pulse, with not only a plentiful but a delicious nourishment; and the other, besides its supply of exquisite meats to cover our tables, almost alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the skins and stuffs it furnishes.

Princes are commonly desirous, and their interest certainly requires it, that the peasant, who, in a literal sense, sustains the heat and burden of

the day, and pays so great a portion of the national taxes, should meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the insatiable and merciless avarice of those who are appointed to collect their revenues. History has transmitted to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this head. A prefect of Egypt, having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and doubtless with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a sum much larger than was customary; <sup>1</sup> that prince, who in the beginning of his reign thought, or at least spoke justly, answered, *That it was his design not to flay, but to shear his sheep.* <sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE FERTILITY OF EGYPT.

UNDER this head I shall treat only of some plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

**PAPYRUS.** This is a plant, from the root of which shoot out a great many triangular stalks, to the height of six or seven cubits. The ancients wrote at first upon palm leaves; next, on the inside of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impressed with an instrument called stylus, sharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other to efface what had been written, <sup>3</sup> which gave occasion to the following expression of Horace:

Sæpe stylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi sint  
Scripturas. Sat. lib. x. ver. 72.

Oft turn your style, if you desire to write  
Things that will bear a second reading.

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many erasures and corrections. At last the use of paper <sup>4</sup> was introduced, and this was made of the bark of papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing; and this papyrus was likewise called byblus.

Nondum fluminea Memphis contexere byblos  
Noverat. Lucan.

Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves  
The wat'ry Byblus.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention, so useful to life, that it preserves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes those who achieved them. <sup>5</sup> Varro ascribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. lvii. p. 608. \* *Κατεσθαι μου τὰ πρόβατα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποζέρεσθαι βοόλογαι.*—Diod. l. lvii.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The papyrus was divided into thin flakes, into which it naturally parted, which being laid on a table, and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards pressed together, and dried in the sun.

<sup>4</sup> *Postea promiscuè patuit usus rei, qua constat immortalitas hominum.*—Chartæ usæ maximè humanitas constat in memoria.

more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The same Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, substituted parchment instead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which had the advantage over paper. Parchment is the skin of a sheep, dressed and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum, from Pergamus, whose kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuscripts are either upon parchment or vellum, which is calf-skin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to see white fine paper, wrought out of filthy rags picked up in the streets. The plant papyrus was useful likewise for sails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.<sup>1</sup>

LINUM. Flax is a plant whose bark, full of fibres or strings, is useful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linen, and never in woollen; and not only the priests, but all persons of distinction, generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a considerable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The manufacture of flax employed a great number of hands in Egypt, especially of the women, as appears from that passage in Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a kind, that it should interrupt every kind of labour. *Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net-work, shall be confounded.*<sup>2</sup> We likewise find in Scripture, that one effect of the plague of the hail, called down by Moses upon Egypt,<sup>3</sup> was the destruction of all the flax which was then balled. This storm was in March.

BYSSUS. This was another kind of flax extremely fine and small, which often received a purple dye.<sup>4</sup> It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the asbeston or asbestinum, i. e. the incombustible flax, places the byssus in the next rank; and says, that it served as an ornament to the ladies.<sup>5</sup> It appears from the Holy Scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt cloth made from this fine flax was brought. *Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt.*<sup>6</sup>

I take no notice of the lotus or lote-tree, a common plant, and in great request with the Egyptians, of whose berries, in former times, they made bread. There was another lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the lotophagi or lotus-eaters, because they lived upon the fruit of this tree, which had so delicious a taste; if Homer may be credited,

<sup>1</sup> Plin. l. xix. c. 1.<sup>2</sup> Isa. xix. 9.<sup>3</sup> Exod. ix. 31.<sup>4</sup> Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Proximus byssino mulierum maxime delictis gonito: inventum jam est etiam (scilicet *Linum*) quod ignibus non absumetur; vivum id vocant, ardentesque in focis conviviorum ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exustis plendescentes igni magis quam possent aquis. — i. e. A flax is now found out, which is proof against the violence of fire; it is called living flax, and we have seen table-napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining-rooms, and receiving a lustre and a cleanness from flames, which no water could have given it.

<sup>6</sup> Esck. xxvii. 7.



that it made the eaters of it forget all the sweets of their native country,<sup>1</sup> as Ulysses found to his cost on his return from Troy.

In general, it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny observes, have sufficed singly for the nourishment of the inhabitants, such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty.<sup>2</sup> And, indeed, working men lived then upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employed in building the pyramids.

Besides these rural riches, the Nile, from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Israelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the wilderness: *Who, say they, in a plaintive, and at the same time seditious tone, shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the flesh which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic.*<sup>3</sup> *We sat by the flesh-pots, and we did eat bread to the full.*<sup>4</sup>

But the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph's administration. In later ages it was the resource and most certain granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well-known story, how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having menaced Constantinople, that for the future no more corn should be imported to it from Alexandria, incensed the emperor Constantine against that holy bishop, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The same reason induced all the emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they considered as the nursing mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheless, the same river which enabled this province to subsist the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced even Egypt itself to the most terrible famine; and it is astonishing that Joseph's wise foresight, which, in fruitful years, had made provision for seasons of sterility, should not have taught these so much boasted politicians, a like care against the changes and inconstancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyric upon Trajan, paints, with wonderful strength, the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine, under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be displeased to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts, than to his expressions.

The Egyptians, says Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor sun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to unexpected drought and a fatal sterility;

<sup>1</sup> Τὸν δ' ὄρετις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιθόα καρπὸν,  
ὄρε ἔρ' ἀταγγίλαι κέλευ ἕθειεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.

Odyss. ix. ver. 94, 95.

Μὴ πῶ τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν, νέστοιο λάθηται.

ver. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Egyptus frugum quidem fertilissima, sed ut prope sola iis carere possit, tanta est ceterarum ex herbis abundantia.—Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

Numb. xi. 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xvi. 3.

from the greatest part of their territories being deserted and left unwatered by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and sure standard of their abundance. They then implored that assistance from their prince, which they used to expect only from their river.<sup>1</sup> The delay of their relief was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined that this misfortune had befallen them only to distinguish with greater lustre the generosity and goodness of Cæsar. It was an ancient and general opinion that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> This vain and proud nation boasted, that though it was conquered, it nevertheless fed its conquerors; that, by means of its river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely at its disposal. But we have now returned to the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their sovereign, found a deliverer, and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, though at such a distance from us, yet so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us.<sup>3</sup> May Heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generosity, restore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility!

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and foolish pride, with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their most peculiar characteristics, and recalls to my mind a fine passage of Ezekiel, where God thus speaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings: *Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself.*<sup>4</sup> God perceived an insupportable pride in the heart of this prince, a sense of security and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely of the influences of Heaven; as though the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or those of his predecessors: *the river is mine, and I have made it.*

Before I conclude this second part, which treats of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me to direct the attention of

<sup>1</sup> Inundatione, id est, ubertate regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsaris invocavit, ut solet annem suum.

<sup>2</sup> Perrebuerat antiquitas urbem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti ali sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum pasceret tamen, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudimus Nilo suas copias. Recepit frumenta quæ miserat, deportatasque messes revexit.

<sup>3</sup> Nilus Ægypto quidem sæpe, sed gloriæ nostræ nunquam largior fluxit.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxix. 3, 9.

my readers to different passages scattered in the history of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, which confirm and illustrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this subject. They will there observe the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the rest of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all transactions, had a regular council, a chosen number of ministers, armies ever well maintained and disciplined, and of every order of soldiery, horse, foot, armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces; overseers or guardians of the public granaries; wise and exact dispensers of the corn lodged in them; a court composed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a chief cup-bearer, a master of his pantry, in a word, all things that compose a prince's household, and constitute a magnificent court. But above all these, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatenings of God were held, the inspector of all actions, and the judge of kings themselves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledged to be a crime of so heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing destruction on a nation.<sup>1</sup>

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## PART THIRD.

### THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

No part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, as though it seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. According to its own historians, first gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed it successively, through a series of more than twenty thousand years.<sup>2</sup> But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manetho has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manetho was an Egyptian high-priest, and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning: he wrote a history of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius, and other ancient memoirs preserved in the archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time, of more than five thousand three hundred years, to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes,<sup>3</sup> who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Euergetes, a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manetho. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 10—20

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> A historian of Cyrene.

to a great deal of trouble and labour. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions, is to suppose, with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynasties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings who have reigned in Egypt, most of whom are only known to us by their names. I shall only take notice of what seems to me most proper to give youth the necessary light into this part of history, for whose sake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I shall confine myself chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the Egyptian kings, without even scrupulously preserving the exactness of succession, at least in the beginnings, which are very obscure; and without pretending to reconcile these two historians. Their design, especially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact series of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out those princes whose history appeared to them most important and instructive. I shall follow the same plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either myself or my readers in a labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which the most able can scarcely disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned works, in which this subject is treated in all its extent.<sup>1</sup>

I am to premise, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and singular incidents, all which, though he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover to be what they really are, I mean fictions.

The ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraïm, the son of Cham,<sup>2</sup> in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyses, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

The second period is intermixed with the Persian and Grecian history, and extends to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagidæ, or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus, to the death of Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, in 3974; and this last comprehends 293 years.

I shall now treat only of the first period, reserving the two others for the eras to which they belong.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Marsham's Canon. Chronic. Father Pesron; the Dissertations of F. Tournemine, Abbé Sevin. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Or Ham.

## THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

MENES.<sup>1</sup> Historians are unanimously agreed, that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraïm, the son of Cham.

Cham was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa, and it doubtless was he who afterwards was worshipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, Chus,<sup>2</sup> Misraïm, Phut, and Canaan. Chus settled in Ethiopia, Misraïm in Egypt, which generally is called in Scripture after his name, and by that of Cham his father;<sup>3</sup> Phut took possession of that part of Africa which lies westward of Egypt; and Canaan, of that country which afterwards bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people who are called almost always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

I return to Misraïm.<sup>4</sup> He is agreed to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to be the first king of Egypt, the institutor of the worship of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the sacrifices.

BUSIRIS, some ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the seat of his empire. We have elsewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Busiris, so infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDYAS. Diodorus gives a very particular description of many magnificent edifices raised by this king; one of which was adorned with sculptures and paintings of exquisite beauty, representing his expedition against the Bactrians, a people of Asia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse.<sup>5</sup> In another part of the edifice, was exhibited an assembly of the judges, whose president wore on his breast a picture of truth, with her eyes shut, and himself was surrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly versed in the laws, and impartial in the administration of them.

The king likewise was painted here, offering to the gods gold and silver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the sum of sixteen millions.<sup>6</sup>

Not far from hence was seen a magnificent library, the oldest mentioned in history. Its title or inscription on the front was, *The office, or treasury, of remedies for the diseases of the soul*. Near it were statues, representing all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made suitable offerings; by which he seemed to be desirous of informing

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 1816. Ant. J. C. 2188.

<sup>2</sup> Or Cush, Gen. x. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The traces of its old name, Mesraïm, remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Mesre; by the testimony of Plutarch, it was called Χημία, Chemia, by an easy corruption of Chemis, and this for Cham or Ham.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. ii. p. 99. Diod. l. i. p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 44, 45.

<sup>6</sup> Three thousand two hundred myriads of mins.

posterity, that his life and reign had been distinguished by piety to the gods and justice to men.

His mausoleum discovered uncommon magnificence; it was encompassed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which showed the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and the rest of the planets. For so early as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each consisting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and six hours.<sup>1</sup> The spectator did not know which to admire most in this stately monument, the richness of its materials, or the genius and industry of the artists and workmen.

UCHORBUS, one of the successors of Osymandyas, built the city of Memphis.<sup>2</sup> This city was 150 furlongs, or more than seven leagues in circumference, and stood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itself into several branches or streams. Southward from the city, he raised a lofty mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. These were faced with stone, and raised, near the city, by strong causeys; the whole designed to secure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incursions of the enemy. A city so advantageously situated, and so strongly fortified that it was almost the key of the Nile, and by this means commanded the whole country, became soon the usual residence of the Egyptian kings. It kept possession of this honour, till it was forced to resign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

MÆRIS. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when strangers, called Shepherd-kings, (Hycsos in the Egyptian language,) from Arabia or Phœnicia, invaded and seized a great part of Lower Egypt, and Memphis itself; but Upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes existed till the reign of Sesostris.<sup>3</sup> These foreign princes governed about two hundred and sixty years.

Under one of these princes, called Pharaoh in Scripture, (a name common to all the kings of Egypt,) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was exposed to great hazard, on account of her exquisite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, she was by him taken from Abraham, upon the supposition that she was not a wife, but only his sister.<sup>4</sup>

THETHMOSIS, or Amosis, having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in Lower Egypt.<sup>5</sup>

Long after his reign, Joseph was brought a slave into Egypt, by some Ishmaelitic merchants; sold to Potiphar, and, by a series of wonderful events, enjoyed the supreme authority, by his being raised to the chief employment of the kingdom.<sup>6</sup> I shall pass over his history, as it is so universally known; but must take notice of a remark of Justin, the epitomiser of Trogius Pompeius,<sup>7</sup> an excellent historian

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 1920. Ant. J. C. 2084.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 2084. Ant. J. C. 1920. Gen. xii. 10—20.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 2179. Ant. J. C. 1825.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 2276. Ant. J. C. 1728.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

of the Augustan age, viz. that Joseph the youngest of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, through envy, had sold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven<sup>1</sup> with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preserved by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely caressed by the king.

Jacob also went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindest treatment from the Egyptians, whilst Joseph's important services were fresh in their memories.<sup>2</sup> But after his death, say the Scriptures, *there arose up a new king, which knew not Joseph.*<sup>3</sup>

RAMESES-MIAMUN, according to Archbishop Usher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in Scripture.<sup>4</sup> He reigned sixty-six years, and oppressed the Israelites in a most grievous manner. *He set over them task-masters,<sup>5</sup> to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities,<sup>6</sup> Pithon and Raameses—and the Egyptians made the children of Israel serve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.* This king had two sons, Amenophis and Busiris.

AMENOPHIS, the eldest, succeeded him.<sup>7</sup> He was the Pharaoh under whose reign the Israelites departed out of Egypt, and who was drowned in his passage through the Red Sea.

Father Tournemine makes Sesostris, of whom we shall speak immediately, the Pharaoh who raised the persecution against the Israelites, and oppressed them with the most painful toils.<sup>8</sup> This is exactly agreeable to the account given by Diodorus of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; so that we may place the memorable event of the passage of the Red Sea, under his son Pheron;<sup>9</sup> and the characteristic of impiety ascribed to him by Herodotus, greatly strengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have proposed to follow in this history, excuses me from entering into chronological discussions.

Diodorus,<sup>10</sup> speaking of the Red Sea, has made one remark very worthy our observation: a tradition, says that historian, has been transmitted through the whole nation from father to son, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried the sea, so that its bottom was seen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident that the miraculous passage of Moses over the Red Sea is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purposely to admonish young students, not to slip over, in their

<sup>1</sup> Justin ascribes this gift of Heaven to Joseph's skill in magical arts. — *Cum magicos ibi artes (Egypto scil.) solerti ingenio percipisset, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 2208. Ant. J. C. 1706.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. i. 8.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 2427. Ant. J. C. 1577.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. i. 11, 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Heb. *urbes thesaurorum*. LXX. *urbes munitas*. These cities were appointed to preserve, as in a store-house, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. — Vatab.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 2494. Ant. J. C. 1510.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. 2518. Ant. J. C. 1491.

This name bears a strong resemblance to Pharaoh, so common to the Egyptian kings.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. iii. p. 74.

perusal of authors, these precious remains of antiquity; especially when they bear, like this passage, any relation to religion.

Archbishop Usher says, that Amenophis left two sons, one called Sesothis, or Sesostris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two sons, Egyptus and Danaus.

SESOSTRIS was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors that antiquity boasts of.<sup>1</sup>

His father, whether by inspiration, caprice, or, as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, formed a design of making his son a conqueror. This he set about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way. All the male children born in the same day with Sesostris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care bestowed on Sesostris, with whom they were brought up. He could not possibly have given him more faithful ministers, nor officers who more zealously desired the success of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining with ease the toils of war. They were never suffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horseback, a considerable race. Hunting was their most common exercise.

Ælian remarks that Sesostris was taught by Mercury, who instructed him in politics, and arts of government.<sup>2</sup> This Mercury is he whom the Greeks called Trismegistus, *i. e.* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almost every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear such evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who also was very famous among the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than the former. Jamblicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary with the Egyptians to publish all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes, or Mercury.

When Sesostris was more advanced in years, his father sent him against the Arabians, in order that, by fighting with them, he might acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirst, and subdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns.

Accustomed by this conquest to martial toils, he was next sent by his father to try his fortune westward. He invaded Libya, and subdued the greatest part of that vast continent.

SESOSTRIS.<sup>3</sup> In the course of this expedition, his father died, and left him capable of attempting the greatest enterprises. He formed no less a design than that of the conquest of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domestic security, in winning the hearts of his subjects by his generosity, justice, and a popular obliging behaviour. He was no less studious to gain the affection of his officers

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. ii. cap. 102, 110. Diod. l. i. p. 48, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ νοήματα ἰεροῦ Ἰησοῦ.—Lib. xii. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.



and soldiers, who were ever ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his service; persuaded that his enterprises would all be unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person, by all the ties of esteem, affection, and interest. He divided the country into thirty-six governments, called Nomi, and bestowed them on persons of merit, and the most approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greatest bravery and reputation, and these were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had seventeen hundred of these officers, who were all capable of inspiring his troops with resolution, a love of discipline, and a zeal for the service of their prince. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Ethiopia, situated to the south of Egypt. He made it tributary, and obliged the nations of it to furnish him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail, and ordering it to sail to the Red Sea, made himself master of the isles and cities lying on the coasts of that sea. He himself heading his land-army, over-ran and subdued Asia with amazing rapidity, and advanced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and, in after times, Alexander himself had ever done; for he subdued the countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the Ocean. One may judge from hence, how unable the more neighbouring countries were to resist him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, Armenia, and Cappadocia, were conquered. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, situated to the east of the Black Sea, where the Egyptian customs and manners have been ever since retained. Herodotus saw in Asia Minor, from one sea to the other, monuments of his victories. In several countries was read the following inscription, engraven on pillars: *Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.* Such pillars are found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, some nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the least resistance. This disparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The scarcity of provisions in Thrace stopped the progress of his conquests, and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumstance is observed in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preserving his acquisitions; but contenting himself with the glory of having subdued and despoiled so many nations, after having spread desolation through the world for nine years, he confined himself almost within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footsteps of this new empire, either under himself or his successors.

He returned, therefore, laden with the spoils of the vanquished nations; dragging after him a numberless multitude of captives, and

covered with greater glory than his predecessors; that glory, I mean, which employs so many tongues and pens in its praise, which consists in invading a great number of provinces in a hostile way, and is often productive of numberless calamities. He rewarded his officers and soldiers with a truly royal magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleasure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in such a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and easy repose, the just reward of their past toils.

With regard to himself, for ever careful of his own reputation, and still more of making his power advantageous to his subjects, he employed the repose which peace allowed him, in raising works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing of his name; works in which the art and industry of the workmen were more admired, than the immense sums which had been expended on them.

A hundred famous temples, raised as so many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the first, as well as the most illustrious testimonies of his victories; and he took care to publish in the inscriptions on them, that these mighty works had been completed without burdening any of his subjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in these monuments of his conquests. The Scriptures take notice of something like this, where they speak of the buildings of Solomon.<sup>1</sup> But he was especially studious of adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Pelusium, in acknowledgment of that god's imaginary protection of him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a design of destroying him in that city, with his wife and children, by setting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was, the raising, in every part of Egypt, a considerable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, in order that these might be a security for men and beasts, during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the sea, he cut, on both sides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of provisions, and for the settling an easy correspondence between such cities as were most distant from one another. Besides the advantages of traffic, Egypt was, by these canals, made inaccessible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had so often harassed it by repeated incursions.

He did still more: to secure Egypt from the inroads of its nearest neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eastern coast from Pelusium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of seven leagues.<sup>2</sup>

Sesostris might have been considered as one of the most illustrious and most boasted heroes of antiquity, had not the lustre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarnished by a thirst of glory, and a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. viii. 9. "But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work."

<sup>2</sup> 50 stadia, about 18 miles English.

forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at stated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occasion, he treated them with some humanity and generosity. But when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he caused these princes, four abreast, to be harnessed to his car, instead of horses, and valued himself upon his being thus drawn by the lords and sovereigns of other nations. What I am most surprised at is this, that Diodorus should rank this foolish and inhuman vanity among the most shining actions of this prince.

Becoming blind in his old age, he despatched himself, after having reigned thirty-three years, and left his kingdom immensely rich.<sup>1</sup> His empire nevertheless did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there still remained, so late as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which showed the extent of Egypt under Sesostrius,<sup>2</sup> and the immense tributes which were paid to it.<sup>3</sup>

I now return to some facts which should have been mentioned before, as they occurred in this period, but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history, and therefore will now barely mention them.

About the era in question, the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the earth. The colony which Cecrops led out of Egypt, built twelve cities, or rather so many towns, of which he composed the kingdom of Athens.<sup>4</sup>

We observed, that the brother of Sesostrius, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a design to murder him on his return to Egypt after his conquests. But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly.<sup>5</sup> He thereupon retired to Peloponnesus, where he seized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before, by Inachus.

BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the ancients for his cruelties, exercised his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile, and barbarously cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country: this was probably during the absence of Sesostrius.<sup>6</sup>

About the same time Cadmus brought from Syria, into Greece, the invention of letters.<sup>7</sup> Some pretend, that these characters, or letters, were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, ascribed to their Mercury the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were the same as the Hebraic; the Hebrews, who formed but a small nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians.<sup>8</sup> Joseph Scaliger, in his

<sup>1</sup> Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Tacit. Ann. l. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Legabantur indicta gentibus tributa—haud minus magna quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur.* — Inscrbed on pillars, were read the tributes imposed on vanquished nations, which were not inferior to those now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 2448.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 2580.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 2533.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. 2549.

<sup>8</sup> The reader may consult on this subject two learned dissertations of Abbé Renaudot, inserted in the second volume of *The History of the Academy of Inscriptions.*

notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius, proves that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried only sixteen letters into Greece, eight others being added afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

I return to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order with Herodotus.

PERON succeeded Sesostris in his kingdom, but not in his glory.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus relates but one action of his, which shows how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father.<sup>3</sup> In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince, enraged at the devastation which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

PROTEUS.<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Memphis, where, in Herodotus' time, his temple was still standing, in which was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger.<sup>5</sup> It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had stolen, was driven by a storm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the strongest terms for his base perfidy and guilt, in stealing the wife of his host, and with her all the effects in his house. He added, that the only reason why he did not punish him with death (as his crime deserved) was, because the Egyptians were careful not to imbrue their hands in the blood of strangers: that he would keep Helen, with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to restore them to their lawful owner: that as for himself (Paris), he must either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was closely pursued by the Grecian army. The Greeks summoned the Trojans to surrender Helen, and with her all the treasures of which her husband had been plundered. The Trojans answered, that neither Helen nor

<sup>1</sup> The sixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, i. e. upwards of two hundred and fifty years later than Cadmus, added the four following, ζ, θ, φ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, η, ω, ξ, ψ.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 2547. Ant. J. C. 1457.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 111. Diod. l. l. p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1204. Herod. l. ii. c. 112, 120.

<sup>5</sup> I do not think myself obliged to enter here into a discussion, which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of archbishop Usher. This last supposes, with a great many other learned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king who was drowned in the Red Sea, whose reign must consequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, since it lasted thirty-three years. Should we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his son, there would still be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, succeeded immediately the first: since Proteus lived at the time of the siege of Troy, which, according to Usher, was taken An. Mun. 2820. I know not whether his almost total silence on the Egyptian kings after Sesostris, was owing to his sense of this difficulty. I suppose a long interval to have occurred between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus (lib. cliv.) fills 't up with a great many kings; and the same must be said of some of the following kings.

her treasures were in their city. And indeed, was it at all likely, says Herodotus, that Priam, who was so wise an old prince, should choose to see his children and country destroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the just and reasonable satisfaction they desired? But it was to no purpose for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly persuaded that they were trifled with, persisted obstinately in their unbelief. The Deity, continues the same historian, being resolved that the Trojans, by the total destruction of their city and empire, should teach the affrighted world this lesson, **THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH EQUALLY GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS.**<sup>1</sup> Menelaus, in his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who restored him Helen with all her treasure. Herodotus proves from some passages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

**RHAMPSINITUS.** The treasury built by this king, who was richer than any of his predecessors, and his descent into hell, as they are related by Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> have so much the air of romance and fiction, that they deserve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been some shadow at least of justice and moderation in Egypt; but, in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty usurped their place.

**CHEOPS and CEPHRENEUS.**<sup>3</sup> These two princes, who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seem to have strove which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned fifty years, and his brother Cephrenus fifty-six years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offerings of sacrifice under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppressed their subjects, by employing them in the most grievous and useless works; and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition, of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude and a boundless expense. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effects of the irreligion and merciless cruelty of those princes.

**MYCERINUS.**<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Cheops, but of a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believed himself set over them for no other purpose than to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, eased their misery, and thought himself not so much the master, as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

<sup>1</sup> *ὅτι τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαί εἰσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.* <sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. c. 121, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 124, 128. Diod. l. i. p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. ii. p. 139, 140.

One would naturally conclude, that so prudent and humane a conduct must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that in the city of Sais, exquisite odours were burnt, in the day-time, at the tomb of this princess, and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, and inquired the reason why so long and prosperous a reign had been granted to his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious, while his own, which he had endeavoured so carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was possible for him to do, should be so short and unhappy; he was answered, that these were the very causes of it, it being the will of the gods to oppress and afflict Egypt, during the space of 150 years, as a punishment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed, like those of the preceding monarchs, to be of fifty years continuance, was shortened on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewise built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his father.

**ASYCHIS.**<sup>1</sup> He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbids a son to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of security for it. The law added, that in case the son took no care to redeem his father's body by restoring the loan, both himself and his children should be deprived for ever of the rights of sepulture.

He valued himself for having surpassed all his predecessors, by building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto seen. The following inscription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it: COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE, WHICH I AS MUCH EXCEL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS.<sup>2</sup>

If we suppose the six preceding reigns (the exact duration of some of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to have continued one hundred and seventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I shall place a few circumstances related in Holy Scripture.

**PHARAOH**, king of Egypt, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, king of Israel; who received her in that part of Jerusalem called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.<sup>3</sup>

**SBSACH**, or Shishak, otherwise called Sesonchis.

It was to him that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him.<sup>4</sup> He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the inscription, as we find it in Herodotus, is, "For men, plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks (*αλεθρους ελιφνας*) out of the mud which stuck to them, and gave me this form."

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013. 1 Kings, iii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978. 1 Kings, xi. 40, and chap. xli.

and then returned to Jerusalem, when putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

This Sesach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the Lord. He came with twelve hundred chariots of war, and sixty thousand horse.<sup>1</sup> He had brought numberless multitudes of people, who were all Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians.<sup>2</sup> He seized upon all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king and the princes of Israel, having humbled themselves, and implored the protection of the God of Israel, he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that, because they humbled themselves, he would not utterly destroy them, as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sesach; in order *that they might know the difference of his service, and the service of the kingdoms of the country.*<sup>3</sup> Sesach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, *and even also the three hundred shields of gold which Solomon had made.*

ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time, made war upon Asa king of Judah.<sup>4</sup> His army consisted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Asa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served, "Lord," says he, "it is nothing for thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude; O Lord thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee." A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and all were irrecoverably defeated, *being destroyed before the Lord, and before his host.*

ANYSIS.<sup>5</sup> He was blind, and under his reign

SABACHUS, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and possessed himself of it. He reigned with great clemency and justice. Instead of putting to death such criminals as had been sentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the causeys, on which the respective cities to which they belonged were situated. He built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Bubastus, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia, and left the throne of Egypt to Anysis, who during this time had concealed himself in the fens. It is believed that this Sabachus was the same with So, whose aid was implored by Hosea, king of Israel, against Salmanaser, king of Assyria.<sup>6</sup>

SETHON. He reigned fourteen years.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971. 2 Chron. xii. 1—9.

<sup>2</sup> The English version of the Bible says, the Lubims, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians.

<sup>3</sup> Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 741. 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13. <sup>5</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3279. Ant. J. C. 725. 2 Kings, xvii. 4.

He is the same with Sevechus, the son of Sabacon or Sual the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over Egypt.<sup>1</sup> This prince, so far from discharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest; causing himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he therefore was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of such lands as his predecessors had given them.

He was soon made sensible of their resentment, in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacherib, (so Herodotus calls this prince,) king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others, who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men he marched to Pelusium, where Sennacherib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious number of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words inscribed thereon: LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS.<sup>2</sup>

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of Kings.<sup>3</sup> We there see, that Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and seized upon all the cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem, his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of this opposition and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies, being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrians in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havoc in the camp of the Assyrians, destroyed a hundred fourscore and five thousand men by fire and

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719,

<sup>2</sup> Ἐς ἡμὲν τὰς ἑρμῶν, ἀναδύσῃς ἕρπον.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. xvii.



sword, and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless, the account of this history, though so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from a historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted seemingly with much prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken, its territories plundered, and its inhabitants of all ages and sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c., chapters of the second book of Kings. Archbishop Usher and Dean Prideaux suppose that it was at this period that the ruin of the famous city No-Amon,<sup>1</sup> spoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened. That prophet says, that *she was carried away—that her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets—that the enemy cast lots for her honourable men, and that all her great men were bound in chains.*<sup>2</sup> He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia *were her strength*; which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, and is contradicted by some learned men. It is sufficient for me to have hinted it to the reader.

Till the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian priests, computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, allowing three generations to a hundred years.<sup>3</sup> They counted the like number of priests and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of piromis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests showed Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden colossal statues of these piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves, as it were, in a remote antiquity, to which no other people pretended.

THARACA.<sup>4</sup> He it was who joined Sethon, with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem. After the death of Sethon, who had sat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the

<sup>1</sup> The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes, surnamed Diospolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Amon is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which also was called No-Amon.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. iii. 8, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. ii. cap. 142.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3299. Ant. J. C. 795. Afric. apud Syncel. p. 74.

succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

#### TWELVE KINGS.

At last, twelve of the principal noblemen, conspiring together, seized upon his kingdom, and divided it among themselves into so many parts.<sup>1</sup> It was agreed by them, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should attempt to invade or seize the dominions of another. They thought it necessary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the most dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had foretold, that he among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, should gain the sovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmost harmony: and to leave a famous monument of their concord to posterity, they jointly, and at a common expense, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building consisting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have spoken elsewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were assisting at a solemn and periodical sacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the priests, having presented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when Psammetichus,<sup>2</sup> without any design, supplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet, for each wore one, and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident struck the rest of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above mentioned. They thought it therefore necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, and therefore with one consent banished him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Psammetichus had passed some years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. These were Grecian soldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been cast upon the coasts of Egypt by a storm, and were completely covered with helmets, cuirasses, and other arms of brass. Psammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had answered him, that he should be succoured by brazen men from the sea-coast. He did not doubt that the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with these strangers; engaged them with great promises to stay with him; privately levied other forces, and put these Greeks at their head; when, giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained sole possessor of Egypt.

**PSAMMETICHUS.** As this prince owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians, he settled them in Egypt, from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded; and, by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country.<sup>3</sup> By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that era,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3319. Ant. J. C. 685. Herod. l. ii. cap. 147, 152. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> He was one of the twelve. <sup>3</sup> A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670. Herod. l. ii. c. 153, 154.

the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammetichus was settled on the throne, he engaged in a war against the king of Assyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord: as afterwards it was between the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ. They were perpetually contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government,<sup>1</sup> thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers, and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by Diodorus;<sup>2</sup> that the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself in preference to them, quitted the service, being upwards of two hundred thousand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

Be this as it will, Psammetichus entered Palestine, where his career was stopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him so much trouble, that he was forced to besiege it twenty-nine years before he could take it.<sup>3</sup> This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians, having seized it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was their strongest bulwark on that side. Nor could Sennacherib enter Egypt, till he had first made himself master of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. The Assyrians had possessed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long siege, just now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it.<sup>4</sup>

In this period the Scythians, leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares, the king of that country, and laid waste all Upper Asia, of which they kept possession during twenty-eight years.<sup>5</sup> They pushed their conquests in Syria, even to the frontiers of Egypt; but Psammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed so far, by his presents and entreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from these dangerous enemies.

Till his reign the Egyptians had imagined themselves to be the most ancient nation upon earth.<sup>6</sup> Psammetichus was desirous to prove this himself, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpose. He commanded, if we may credit the relation, two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up in the country, in a hovel, that was to be kept continually shut. They were committed to the care of a shepherd, others say of nurses whose tongues were cut out,

<sup>1</sup> This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh, king of Judah.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. l. p. 61. <sup>3</sup> Diod. c. 157. <sup>4</sup> Isa. xx. 1. <sup>5</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 105. <sup>6</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

who was to feed them with the milk of goats, and was commanded not to suffer any person to enter this hut, nor himself to speak even a single word in the hearing of these children. At the expiration of two years, as the shepherd was one day coming into the hut, to feed these children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foster-father, *beckos, beckos*. The shepherd, surprised to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, sent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he might be witness to the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began in his presence to stammer out the sounds above mentioned. Nothing now was wanting but to inquire what nation it was that used this word, and it was found that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themselves, notwithstanding their jealousy of it, and the many ages they had possessed this glory, were obliged to resign to them. As goats were brought to these children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and historians do not say that they were deaf, some are of opinion, that they might have learned the word *bek* or *bekkos*, by mimicking the cry of those creatures.

Psammetichus died in the 24th year of Josias, king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Nechao.

NECHAO.<sup>1</sup> This prince is often called in Scripture, Pharaoh-Necho.<sup>2</sup>

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red Sea, by cutting a canal from one to the other. They are separated at the distance of at least a thousand stadia.<sup>3</sup> After a hundred and twenty thousand workmen had lost their lives in this attempt, Necho was obliged to desist, — the oracle, which had been consulted by him, having answered, that this new canal would open a passage to the barbarians, (for so the Egyptians called all other nations,) to invade Egypt.

Necho was more successful in another enterprise.<sup>4</sup> Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his service, having sailed from the Red Sea in order to discover the coast of Africa, went successfully round it; and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Strait of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. It was made twenty-one centuries before Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence to the Mediterranean.

The Babylonians and Medes having destroyed Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Assyrians, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours.<sup>5</sup> Ne-

<sup>1</sup> He is called Necho in the English version of the Scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616. Herod. l. ii. c. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Allowing 625 feet, or 125 geometrical paces, to each stadium, the distance will be 118 English miles, and a little above one-third of a mile. Herodotus says, that this design was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Persian, l. ii. c. 158.

Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 6. 2 Kings, xxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

chao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. Josiah, king of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his route through Judea, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view he raised all the forces of his kingdom, and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo (a city on this side of Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and called Magdolus by Herodotus). Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprise was not designed against him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertaken this war in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reason he advised Josiah not to concern himself with this war, for fear it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons; he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea would entirely ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

Nechao, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish, a large city in that country, and securing to himself the possession of it by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent three months.

Being informed, in his march homewards, that Jehoz had caused himself to be proclaimed king at Jerusalem, without first asking his consent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah, in Syria.<sup>1</sup> The unhappy prince was no sooner arrived there than he was put in chains, by Nechao's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence, pursuing his march, he came to Jerusalem, where he gave the sceptre to Eliakim, (called by him Jehoiakim,) another of Josiah's sons, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land, of a hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold.<sup>2</sup> This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> mentioning this king's expedition, and the victory gained by him at Magdolus, (as he calls it,) says that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor. This description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears besides, from Scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, made himself master of this capital of Judea; for he was there in person, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which,

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 33, 35. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to £ 353 : 11 : 10½;  
so that 100 talents English money make . . . . . £ 35,359 7 6  
The gold talent, according to the same, . . . . . 5,075 15 7½

The amount of the whole tribute, . . . . . £ 40,435 3 1½ About \$179,582.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ii. c. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Megiddo.

in Hebrew, signifies the holy, points clearly to the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux.<sup>1</sup>

Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing, that since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him, and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, associated his son Nebuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire, and sent him at the head of an army into those countries.<sup>2</sup> This young prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as Jeremiah had foretold.<sup>3</sup> Thus he dispossessed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them,<sup>4</sup> from the little river<sup>5</sup> of Egypt to the Euphrates, which commanded all Syria and Palestine.

Nechao dying, after he had reigned sixteen years, left the kingdom to his son.

PSAMMIS.<sup>6</sup> His reign was but of six years' duration, and history has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It was to this prince that the Eleans sent a splendid embassy, after having instituted the Olympic games. They had established the whole with such care, and made such excellent regulations, that, in their opinion, nothing seemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itself could not find any fault with them. However, they did not desire so much to have the opinion as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly the king assembled the sages of the nation, and after all things had been heard, which could be said in favour of this institution, the Eleans were asked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which answer was made that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptians replied, that the rules of justice would have been most strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

APRIES. In Scripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra; and, succeeding his father Psammis, reigned twenty-five years.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet holy, and in the Old Testament was called *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed *Jerusalem Kedusha*. i. e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity's sake, was omitted, and only *Kedusha* reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, *Kedusha*, by a change in that dialect of *sh* into *th*, was made *Kedutha*; and Herodotus, giving it a Greek termination, it was written *Kaduris*, or *Cadytia*. Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 80, 81, 8vo. edit.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 607.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xli. 2, &c.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings, xxiv. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A river Egyptian. This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in Scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which, running through the desert that lay between those nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far the land, which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3404. Ant. J. C. 600. Herod. l. ii. c. 160.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 160.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594. Jer. xlv. 30.

During the first years of his reign, he was as happy as any of his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> He carried his arms into Cyprus; besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and, as Herodotus informs us, swelled him with so much pride and infatuation, that he boasted it was not in the power of the gods themselves to dethrone him; so great was the idea he had formed to himself of the firm establishment of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: *My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.*<sup>2</sup> But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

Shortly after Hophra had ascended the throne, Zedekiah,<sup>3</sup> king of Judah, sent an embassy, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity which he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbid his people to have recourse to Egypt, or to put any confidence in the people of it, notwithstanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved for their having relied on the Egyptians, they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger, and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done, in the reign of the Holy King Hezekiah; and which gave occasion to God's message to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah: "Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fall together." But neither the prophet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch, who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nebuchodonosor. But God, offended that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himself into his place, expressed his mind to another prophet, as follows: "Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt. Speak and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 161. Dioid. l. i. p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Esek. xvii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Esek. xxix. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xxxi. 1, 2.

river is mine own, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws," &c.<sup>1</sup> God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds,<sup>2</sup> "Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee: and the land of Egypt shall be desolate, and they shall know that I am the Lord; because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it." The same prophet, in several succeeding chapters, continues to foretell the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.<sup>3</sup>

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to these predictions. When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and saw Nebuchodonosor raise the siege of Jerusalem, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of short duration, for the Egyptians, seeing the Chaldeans advancing, did not dare to encounter so numerous and well-disciplined an army. They therefore marched back into their own country, and left the unfortunate Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war in which they themselves had involved him.<sup>4</sup> Nebuchodonosor again sat down before Jerusalem, took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

Many years after, the chastisements with which God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra) began to fall upon him:<sup>5</sup> for the Cyrenians, a Greek colony which had settled in Africa between Libya and Egypt, having seized upon and divided among themselves a great part of the country belonging to the Libyans, forced these nations, who were thus dispossessed by violence, to throw themselves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya, to oppose the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being entirely defeated and almost cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya only to get it destroyed, and by that means to attain the power of governing his subjects without check or control. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to throw off the yoke which had been laid on them by their prince, whom they now considered as their enemy. Apries, hearing of the rebellion, despatched Amasis, one of his officers, to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance; but the moment Amasis began to address them, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him king. Amasis, having accepted the crown, staid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest, and bring him before him; but Paterbemis, not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was surrounded with the instruments of his treachery, was treated by Apries at his return in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never considered, that only his want of power had

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4.<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxix. 3, 9.<sup>3</sup> Chap. xxix., xxx., xxxi., xxxii.<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 588. Jer. xxxvii. 6, 7.<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3430. Ant. J. C. 574. Herod. l. ii. c. 161, &c. Diod. l. i. 62.



prevented his executing his commission. So barbarous an outrage, committed upon a person of such high distinction, exasperated the Egyptians so much, that the greatest part of them joined the rebels, and the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which Amasis enjoyed the rest of his dominions.

The troubles which thus distracted Egypt, afforded Nebuchodonosor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and it was God himself who inspired him with the resolution. This prince, who was the instrument of God's wrath (though he did not know himself to be so) against a people whom he had resolved to chastise, had just before taken Tyre, where himself and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompense their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himself revealing his designs on this subject. There are few passages in Scripture more remarkable than this, or which give a clearer idea of the supreme authority which God exercises over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth. "Son of man, (says the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel,) Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus:<sup>1</sup> every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled:<sup>2</sup> yet had he no wages, nor his army, for the service he had served against it.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour, wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God." Says another prophet: "He shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace." Thus shall he load himself with booty, and thus cover his own shoulders, and those of his fold, with all the spoils of Egypt. Noble expressions! which show the ease with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and shift like a garment to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and clothe himself with it.

The king of Babylon, taking advantage therefore of the intestine divisions which the rebellion of Amasis had occasioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He subdued Egypt from Migdol or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of the kingdom, as far as Syene, in the opposite extremity, where it borders on Ethiopia.

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> The baldness of the heads of the Babylonians was owing to the pressure of their helmets; and their peeled shoulders to their carrying baskets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. Baldness was itself a badge of slavery; and, joined to the peeled shoulders, shows that the conqueror's army sustained even the most servile labours in this memorable siege.

<sup>3</sup> For the better understanding of this passage, we are to know, that Nebuchodonosor sustained incredible hardships at the siege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians saw themselves closely attacked, the nobles conveyed themselves, and their richest effects, on shipboard, and retired into other islands. So that, when Nebuchodonosor took the city, he found nothing to recompense his losses, and the troubles he had undergone in this siege. — S. Hieron.

\* Jerem. xliii. 12.

He made a horrible devastation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made such dreadful havoc in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nebuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

APRIES, (Pharaoh-Hophra,)<sup>1</sup> now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea-coast, probably on the side of Libya; and, hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was he who had broken the power of Apries, which was once so formidable, and put the sword into the hand of Nebuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty prince. "I am (said he) against Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and will break his arms which were strong, but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.<sup>2</sup>—But I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword into his hand.<sup>3</sup>—And they shall know that I am the Lord."<sup>4</sup>

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors: Pathros,<sup>5</sup> Zoan, No, called in the Vulgate, Alexandria, Sin, Aven, Phibeseth, &c.<sup>6</sup>

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end to which the captive king should come. "Thus saith the Lord, Behold I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life."<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, he declares, that during forty years the Egyptians shall be oppressed with every species of calamity, and be reduced to so deplorable a state, "that there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."<sup>8</sup> The event verified this prophecy. Soon after the expiration of these forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Persian empire, and has been governed ever since by foreigners. For, since the ruin of the Persian monarchy, it has been subject successively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamelukes, and lastly to the Turks, who possess it at this day.

God was not less punctual in the accomplishment of his prophecies, with regard to such of his own people as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jerusalem, and forced Jeremiah along with them.<sup>9</sup> The instant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis, or Tanis, after having hid, in their presence,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 163, 169. Diod. l. i. p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxx. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxx. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxx. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxx. 14, 17.

<sup>6</sup> I have given the names of these towns as they stand in our English version. In the margin are printed against Zoan, Tanis; against Sin, Pelusium; against Aven, Heliopolis; against Phibeseth, Pubastum, (Bubaste,) and by these last names they are mentioned in the original French of M. Rollin.

<sup>7</sup> Jerem. xlii. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Ezek. xxx. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Jerem. xlii. 21.

by God's command, stoned in a grotto, which was near the king's palace, he declared to them, that Nebuchodonosor should soon arrive in Egypt, and that God would establish his throne in that very place that this prince would lay waste the whole kingdom, and carry fire and sword into all places; that themselves should fall into the hand of these cruel enemies, when one part of them would be massacred, and the rest led captive to Babylon; that only a very small number should escape the common desolation, and be at last restored to their country. All these prophecies had their accomplishment in the appointed time.

AMASIS.<sup>1</sup> After the death of Apries, Amasis became peaceable possessor of Egypt, and reigned over it forty years. He was, according to Plato,<sup>2</sup> a native of the city of Sais.

As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no respect, and was contemned by his subjects in the beginning of his reign.<sup>3</sup> He was not insensible of this; but nevertheless thought it his interest to subdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and to win their affection by gentleness and reason. He had a golden cistern, in which himself, and those persons who were admitted to his table, used to wash their feet; he melted it down, and had it cast into a statue, and then exposed the new god to public worship. The people hastened in crowds to pay their adoration to the statue. The king, having assembled the people, informed them of the vile uses to which this statue had once been put, which nevertheless was now the object of their religious prostrations: the application was easy, and had the desired success; the people thenceforward paid the king all the respect that is due to majesty.

He always used to devote the whole morning to public affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils:<sup>4</sup> the rest of the day was given to pleasure; and as Amasis, in hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and seemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds, his courtiers took the liberty to represent to him the unsuitableness of such a behaviour; when he answered that it was as impossible for the mind to be always serious and intent upon business, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town to enter their names in a book kept by the magistrates for that purpose, with their profession, and manner of living. Solon inserted this custom among his laws.

He built many magnificent temples, especially at Sais, the place of his birth. Herodotus admired especially a chapel there, formed of one single stone, and which was twenty-one cubits<sup>5</sup> in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimensions within were not quite so large: it had been brought from Elephantina, and two thousand men were employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

Amasis had a great esteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted such of them as were desirous of settling

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3435. Ant. J. C. 569.    <sup>2</sup> In Tim.    <sup>3</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 172.    <sup>4</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 74.

<sup>5</sup> The cubit is one foot and almost ten inches. — Vide supra.

in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, so famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expense was computed at three hundred talents,<sup>1</sup> Amasis furnished the Delphians with a very considerable sum towards discharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife from among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendship with Amasis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, was initiated in all the mysteries of the country, and instructed by the priests in whatever was most abstruse and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered so great a part of the world, Egypt doubtless was subdued, like the rest of the provinces; and Xenophon positively declares this in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*, or institution of that prince.<sup>2</sup> Probably, after that the forty years of desolation, which had been foretold by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to recover itself, Amasis shook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

Accordingly we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

**PSAMMENITUS.**<sup>3</sup> Cambyses, after having gained a battle, pursued the enemy to Memphis; besieged the city, and soon took it: however, he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honourable pension; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to reascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months; all Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of the history will be related more at large when I come to that of Cambyses.

Here ends the succession of the Egyptian kings. From this era the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects in the several periods to which they belong.

<sup>1</sup> Or \$252,075.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπιπέρις δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καθάπερ δὲ ἐπὶ Θάλατταν, καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων—  
p. 5. Edit. Hutchinsoni.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3470. Ant. J. C. 525.

## BOOK SECOND.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

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### PLAN.

The following history of the Carthaginians is divided into two parts. In the first is given a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power, and riches. In the second, after relating, in few words, by what steps Carthage established and enlarged its power, there is an account of the wars by which it became so famous.

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## PART FIRST.

### CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

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#### SECTION I.

##### CARTHAGE FORMED AFTER THE MODEL OF TYRE, OF WHICH THAT CITY WAS A COLONY.

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but their manners, language, customs, laws, religion, and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the sequel. They spoke the same language with the Tyrians, and these the same with the Canaanites and Israelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at least a language which was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly some particular meaning: thus Hanno signified *gracious, bountiful*; Dido, *amiable or well-beloved*; Sophonisba, *one who keeps faithfully her husband's secrets*.<sup>1</sup> From a spirit of religion, they likewise joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. Hannibal, which answers to Ananias, signifies *Baal (or the Lord) has been gracious to me*. Asdrubal, answering to Azarias, implies *the Lord will be our succour*.

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<sup>1</sup> Bochart. Part II. l. ii. c. 16.

It is the same with other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Mastanabal, &c. The word Pœni, from which Punic is derived, is the same with Phœni or Phœnicians, because they came originally from Phœnicia. In the Pœnulus of Plautus is a scene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exercised the learned.<sup>1</sup>

But the strict union which always subsisted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians is still more remarkable.

When Cambyses had resolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians, who formed the chief strength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not serve him against their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aside his design.<sup>2</sup> The Carthaginians, on their side, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. They sent regularly every year to Tyre a ship freighted with presents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgment paid to their ancient country; and its tutelary gods had an annual sacrifice offered to them by the Carthaginians, who considered them as their protectors.<sup>3</sup> They never failed to send thither the first fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to secure from Alexander, who was then besieging their city, what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, sent them to Carthage, where, at a time that the inhabitants of the latter were involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with such a kindness and generosity as might be expected from the most tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted testimonies of a warm and sincere gratitude, do a nation more honour than the greatest conquests and the most glorious victories.

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## SECTION II.

### THE RELIGION OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

It appears from several passages of the history of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indispensable duty to begin and end all their enterprises with the worship of the gods. Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in a hostile manner, offered up a sacrifice to the gods; and his son, treading in his steps, before he left Spain and marched against Rome, went to Cadiz in order to pay the vows he made to Hercules, and to offer up new ones, in case that God should be propitious to him.<sup>4</sup> After the battle of Cannæ, when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them, above all things, the offering up a solemn thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for the several victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse gratis diis immortalibus agi haberique.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The first scene of the fifth act, translated into Latin by Petit, in the second book of his Miscellanies.

Herod. l. iiii. c. 17—19.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxi. n. 1. Ibid. n. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3.

Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11.

Nor was this religious honouring of the deity on all occasions the ambition of particular persons only, but it was the genius and disposition of the whole nation.

Polybius<sup>1</sup> has transmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great respect and veneration of the latter for the deity, and their inherent persuasion that the gods assist and preside over human affairs, and particularly over the solemn treaties made in their name and presence, are strongly displayed. Mention is therein made of five or six different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a public instrument, such as a treaty of peace concluded between two nations. I will here present my readers with the very words of the historian, as it will give some idea of the Carthaginian theology. *This treaty was concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the demon or genius (δαίμωνος) of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the presence of all those gods who possess Carthage.* What would we now say to an instrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and saints of a kingdom should be introduced!

The Carthaginians had two deities, to whom they paid a more particular worship, and who deserve to have some mention made of them in this place.

The first was the goddess Cœlestis, called likewise Urania, or the moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: that very virgin Cœlestis, says Tertullian, the promiser of rain,—*Ista ipsa virgo Cœlestis, pluviarum pollicitatrix.*<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, speaking of this goddess, and of Æsculapius, gives the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the same time very glorious to the cause of Christianity; and declares, that any Christian, who first comes, shall oblige these false gods to confess publicly that they are but devils; and consents that this Christian shall be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. *Nisi se dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.* St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. *What is now, says he,*<sup>3</sup> *become of Cœlestis, whose empire was once so great in Carthage? This was doubtless the same deity whom Jeremiah calls the queen of heaven;*<sup>4</sup> and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women, that they addressed their vows, burnt incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands, *ut faciant placentas reginæ cœli:* and from whom they boasted their having received all manner of blessings, while they paid her a regular worship; whereas, since they had failed in it, they had been oppressed with misfortunes of every kind.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. vii. p. 609, edit. Gronov.

<sup>2</sup> In Psalm xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Apolog. a. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. vii. 16. xlv. 17—26

The second deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whose honour human sacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in Scripture by the name of Moloch; and this worship passed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a passage from Sanchoniathon, which shows, that the kings of Tyre, in great dangers, used to sacrifice their sons to appease the anger of the gods; and that one of them, by this action, procured himself divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the name of the planet Saturn: to this doubtless was owing the fable of Saturn devouring his own children. Private persons, when they were desirous of averting any great calamity, took the same method; and, in imitation of their princes, were so very superstitious, that such as had no children purchased those of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of such a sacrifice. This custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Israelites borrowed it, though forbidden expressly by Heaven. At first children were inhumanly burned, either in a fiery furnace, like those in the valley of Hinnom, so often mentioned in Scripture, or enclosed in a flaming statue of Saturn. The cries of these unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noise of drums and trumpets.<sup>1</sup> Mothers made it a merit, and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous spectacle with dry eyes, and without so much as a groan; and if a tear or sigh stole from them, the sacrifice was less acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely lost.<sup>2</sup> This strength of mind, or rather savage barbarity, was carried to such excess, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kisses, to hush the cries of their children, lest, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midst of tears, it should anger the god;<sup>3</sup> *blanditiis et oculis comprimebant vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaratur.*<sup>4</sup> They afterwards contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, in which they frequently perished, as appears from several passages of Scripture.<sup>5</sup>

The Carthaginians retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city:<sup>6</sup> an action which ought to have been called a sacrilege rather than a sacrifice, — *Sacri-*

<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Superstit. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Παρουσθεν ἐὶ τὴ μίσην δεινότητος καὶ δολιχότητος, &c. The cruel and pitiless mother stood by as an unconcerned spectator; a groan or a tear falling from her, would have been punished by a fine; and still the child must have been sacrificed. — Plut. de Superstitione.

<sup>3</sup> Tertul. in Apolog.

<sup>4</sup> Minut. Felix.

<sup>5</sup> Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5.

<sup>6</sup> It appears from Tertullian's Apology, that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa, long after the ruin of Carthage. Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatam Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui umbromaticibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patrias nostras, quæ id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. i. e. Children were publicly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses raised to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors of this execution, at the command of this proconsul. — Tertul. Apolog. c. 9. Two learned men are at variance about the proconsul, and time of his government. Salmasius confesses his ignorance of both, but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for proconsulatam, reads proconsulem Tiberii, and thinks Tertullian, when he wrote his Apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian was then recent, and probably the witnesses of it had not been long dead.



*legium verius quam sacrum.* It was suspended only for some years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I., king of Persia, who forbade them the offering up of human sacrifices, and the eating the flesh of dogs; but they soon resumed this horrid practice, since, in the reign of Xerxes, the successor to Darius, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, ordered, among other conditions of peace, *That no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn.*<sup>1</sup> And, doubtless, the practice of the Carthaginians, on this very occasion, made Gelon use this precaution. For during the whole engagement, which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods sacrifices of living men, who were thrown in great numbers on a flaming pile; and seeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himself rushed into it, in order that he might not survive his own disgrace;<sup>2</sup> and to extinguish, says St. Ambrose, speaking of this action, with his own blood this sacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of service to him.<sup>3</sup>

In times of pestilence, they used to sacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compassion in the most cruel enemies; thus seeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itself, and endeavouring to appease the gods by the most shocking barbarity.<sup>4</sup>

Diodorus<sup>5</sup> relates an instance of this cruelty, which strikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was just going to besiege Carthage, its inhabitants, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the just anger of Saturn, because that, instead of offering up children nobly born, who were usually sacrificed to him, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of slaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed to Saturn; besides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a sense of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily sacrificed themselves. Diodorus adds, that there was a brazen statue of Saturn, the hands of which were turned downwards, so that, when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, says Plutarch,<sup>6</sup> be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? Religion, says this judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man and injurious to the Deity; I mean impiety and superstition.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Ser. Vindio. Deoram, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. vii. c. 167.

<sup>3</sup> In ipsos quos adolebat sese præcipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore suo extingueret, quos sibi nihil profuisse cognoverat. — St. Amb.

<sup>4</sup> Cum peste laborarent, cruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant, et impuberes, (quæ ætas etiam hostium misericordiam provocat.) aris admovabant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vitâ dii maxime rogari solent. — Justin. l. xviii. c. 6. The Gauls, as well as Germans, used to sacrifice men, if Dionysius and Tacitus may be credited.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. ii. p. 756.

<sup>6</sup> De Superstitione, p. 160—171

The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of a terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods; while superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes.<sup>1</sup> Had it not been better, says he farther, for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and such like open and undisguised atheists for their lawgivers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants, (the avowed enemies of the gods,) had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?<sup>2</sup>

Such were the sentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worship. But one would hardly believe that mankind were capable of such madness and frenzy. Men do not generally entertain ideas so destructive of all those things which nature considers as most sacred, as to sacrifice, to murder their children with their own hands, and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Sentiments, so unnatural and barbarous, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by the most civilized, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans, and consecrated by custom during a long series of ages, can have been inspired by him only, who was a murderer from the beginning, and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, misery, and perdition of man.

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### SECTION III.

#### FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

THE government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the most consummate wisdom, and it is with reason that Aristotle ranks this republic in the number of those that were had in the greatest esteem by the ancients, and which were fit to serve as models for others.<sup>3</sup> He grounds his opinion on a reflection which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to his time, that is, upwards of five hundred years, no considerable sedition had disturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppressed the liberty, of that state. Indeed, mixed governments, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided between the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences; either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or into the oppression of the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itself, under Sylla and Cæsar. It is therefore giving Carthage the highest praise, to observe, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to shun, during so long a series of years, two rocks that are so dangerous, and on which others so often split. It were to be

<sup>1</sup> *Idem.* in Camill. p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> De Superstitione.

<sup>3</sup> De Rep. l. ii. c. 11.

wished, that some ancient author had left us an accurate and regular description of the customs and laws of this famous republic. For want of such assistance, we can only give our readers a confused and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the several passages which lie scattered up and down in authors. Christopher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular; and his work has been of great service to me.<sup>1</sup>

The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another.<sup>2</sup> These authorities were, that of the two supreme magistrates, called *suffetes*,<sup>3</sup> that of the senate, and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of one hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

#### THE SUFFETES.

THE power of the *suffetes* was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome.<sup>4</sup> In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls; because they exercised the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate,<sup>5</sup> in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and collected the votes;<sup>6</sup> and they likewise presided in all debates on matters of importance. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs; they sometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of *suffetes* expired, they were made *prætors*, whose office was considerable, since it empowered them to preside in some causes; as also to propose and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the public revenues, as appears from what Livy<sup>7</sup> relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I shall take notice of in the sequel.

#### THE SENATE.

THE senate, composed of persons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and especially their merit, formed the council of state, and were, if I may use that expression, the soul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known; it must, however, have been very great, since a hundred were selected from it to form a separate assembly, of which I shall immediately have occasion to speak. In the senate, all affairs of consequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the com-

<sup>1</sup> It is entitled, *Carthago, sive Carthaginiensium Respublica, &c.*—*Francofurti ad Oderam*, ann. 1664.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. iv. p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> This name is derived from a word which, with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, signifies judges, *Shophetim*.

<sup>4</sup> Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur.—*Corn. Nep. in Vita Annibalis*, c. 7. The great Hannibal was once one of the *suffetes*.

<sup>5</sup> *Senatum itaque suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt.*—*Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cùm suffetes ad jus dicendum concedissent.*—*Idem. l. xxxiv. n. 62. Lib. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.*

plaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is seen on many occasions.

When the sentiments and votes were unanimous, the senate decided supremely, and there lay no appeal from it.<sup>1</sup> When there was a division, and the senate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will easily perceive the great wisdom of this regulation; and how happily it is adapted to crush factions, to produce harmony, and to enforce and corroborate good counsel; such an assembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Of this we have a memorable instance in Polybius.<sup>2</sup> When, after the loss of the battle fought in Africa at the end of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victor were read in the senate, Hannibal, observing that one of the senators opposed them, represented in the strongest terms, that, as the safety of the republic lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This doubtless laid the foundation, in the infancy of the republic, of the senate's power, and raised its authority to so great a height. And the same author observes in another place, that while the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and was successful in all its enterprises.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE PEOPLE.

It appears, from every thing related hitherto, that even as late as Aristotle's time, who gives so beautiful a picture, and bestows so noble an eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people spontaneously left the care of public affairs, and the chief administration of them, to the senate; and this it was which made the republic so powerful. But things changed afterwards; for the people, grown insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that they owed these blessings to the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of having a share in the government, and arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions; and this Polybius assigns as one of the chief causes of the ruin of Carthage.

#### THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HUNDRED.

THIS was a body composed of a hundred and four persons; though often, for brevity's sake, they are called only the hundred. These, according to Aristotle, were the same in Carthage as the ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were instituted to balance the power of the nobles and senate; but with this difference, that the ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas these were perpetual, and were upwards of a hundred. It is believed that these centumvirs are the same with the hundred judges mentioned by Justin,<sup>4</sup> who were taken out of the senate, and appointed to inquire

<sup>1</sup> Arist. loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. xv. p. 706, 707.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. vi. p. 494. A. Carth. 487.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. xiz. c. 2. A. M. 3069. A. Carth. 487.

into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which, by its engrossing the chief employments both of the state and the army, had thereby the sole direction and management of all affairs, gave occasion to this establishment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, while the armies were in the field, was almost boundless and absolute; but, by this institution, it became subject to the laws, by the obligation their generals were under of giving an account of their actions before these judges, on their return from the campaign. *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legesque respicerent.*<sup>1</sup> Of these hundred and four judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest; but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themselves. They also had the power of choosing those who composed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons of uncommon merit, and it was not judged proper to annex any salary or reward to it; the single motive of the public good being thought a tie sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty. Polybius,<sup>2</sup> in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, distinguishes clearly two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage, were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men, (*ἐκ τῆς Γερουσίας*); so he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the senate (*ἐκ τῆς Συγκλήτου*). Livy mentions only fifteen of the senators; but, in another place, he names the old men, and tells us, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate.<sup>3</sup> *Carthaginiensis — Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos, concilium maximique ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.*<sup>4</sup>

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom and the justest harmony of parts, degenerate, however, insensibly into disorder and the most destructive licentiousness. These judges, who, by the lawful execution of their power, were a terror to transgressors, and the great pillars of justice, abusing their almost unlimited authority, became so many petty tyrants. We shall see this verified in the history of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his influence to reform so horrid an abuse; and made the authority of these judges, which before was perpetual, only annual, about two hundred years from the first founding the tribunal of the one hundred.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justin. l. xix.<sup>2</sup> Lib. x. p. 824, edit. Gronov.<sup>3</sup> Liv. xxvi. n. 51. Lib. xxx. n. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Rollin might have taken notice of some civil officers who were established at Carthage, with a power like that of the censors of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens. The chief of these officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty. *Erat præterea cum eo [Amilcare] adolescens illustris et formosus, Hædrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quàm par erat, ab Amilcare, loquebantur. Quo factum est ut à præfecto morum Hædrubal cum eo vetaretur esse.* — Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3082. A. Carth. 682.

## DEFECTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

ARISTOTLE, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two defects in it, both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wise lawgiver, and the maxims of sound policy.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employments, which was considered at Carthage as a proof of uncommon merit. But Aristotle thinks this practice highly prejudicial to a community. For, says this author, a man possessed but of one employment is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; because affairs then are examined with greater care, and sooner despatched. We never see, continues our author, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires, that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit; whereas the bestowing of them on one man too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference, and always fills others with jealousy, discontent, and murmurs.

The second defect taken notice of by Aristotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain estate was required, besides merit and a conspicuous birth; by which means poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit, which he considers as a great evil in a government. For then, says he, as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money is all-powerful, because all things are attained by it, the admiration and desire of riches seize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employments, they seem to have a right to reimburse themselves.

There is not, I believe, one instance in all antiquity, to show that employments, either in the state or the courts of justice, were sold. The expense, therefore, which Aristotle talks of here, to raise men to preferments in Carthage, must doubtless be understood of the presents that were given, in order to procure the votes of the electors: a practice, as Polybius observes, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was considered a disgrace.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore no wonder that Aristotle should condemn a practice, which it is very plain may in its consequences prove fatal to a government.

But in case he pretended, that the chief employments of a state ought to be equally accessible to the rich and the poor, as he seems to insinuate, his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wisest republics; for these, without in any way demeaning or aspersing poverty, have thought, that on this occasion the preference ought to be given to riches; because it is to be presumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler views, are more out of the reach of corruption, and less liable to commit base actions; and that even the state of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the

<sup>1</sup> Πὰρ Καρχηδόνιαις ἴδιον εἶχον τῶν ἀντιόντων πρὸς κέρδος. — Polyb. l. vi. p. 497.

government, inclines them to maintain peace and order in it, and to suppress whatever may tend to sedition and rebellion.

Aristotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleased with a custom practised in it, viz. of sending from time to time colonies into different countries, and in this manner procuring its citizens commodious settlements. This provided for the necessities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the state; and it discharged Carthage of multitudes of lazy, indolent people, who were its disgrace, and often proved dangerous to it: it prevented commotions and insurrections, by thus removing such persons as commonly occasion them; and who, being very uneasy under their present circumstances, are always ready for innovations and tumults

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#### SECTION IV.

TRADE OF CARTHAGE, THE FIRST SOURCE OF ITS WEALTH AND POWER.

COMMERCE, strictly speaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its industry, and its peculiar and predominant characteristic. It formed the greatest strength, and the chief support of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm that the power, the conquests, the credit, and the glory of the Carthaginians, all flowed from their commerce. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and stretching out their arms eastward and westward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world; and wafted it to the coast of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the strait and pillars of Hercules. They sailed to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the superfluities of every nation, which, by the wants of others, became necessaries; and these they sold to them at the dearest rate. From Egypt the Carthaginians brought fine flax, paper, corn, sails, and cables for ships; from the coast of the Red Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones; from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, and divers curious and exquisite works of art; in a word, they brought from various countries, all things that can supply the necessities, or are capable of contributing to the comfort, luxury, and the delights of life. They brought back from the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper; by the sale of which articles they enriched themselves at the expense of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was so much the surer, as it was spontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themselves lords of the sea; the band which held the east, the west, and south together, and the necessary channel of their communication; so that Carthage rose to be the common city, and the centre of the trade of all those nations which the sea separated from one another.

The most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed of engaging in trade. They applied themselves to it as industriously as

the meanest citizens; and their great wealth did not make them less in love with the diligence, patience, and labour which are necessary for the acquisition of it. To this they owed their empire of the sea; the splendour of their republic; their being able to dispute for superiority with Rome itself; and their elevation of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and subdue this haughty rival. In short, Rome, even in its triumphant state, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had been so long enabled to resist the whole strength of that mighty republic.

However, it is no wonder that, as Carthage came in a manner out of the greatest school of traffic in the world, I mean Tyre, she should have been crowned with such rapid and uninterrupted success. The very vessels in which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began to make settlements upon the coasts of Spain, in those ports where they unloaded their goods. The ease with which they had founded these settlements, and the conveniences they met with, inspired them with the design of conquering those vast regions; and sometime after, *Nova Carthago*, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almost equal to that which they enjoyed in Africa.

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## SECTION V.

### THE MINES OF SPAIN, THE SECOND SOURCE OF THE RICHES AND POWER OF CARTHAGE.

DIODORUS<sup>1</sup> justly remarks that the gold and silver mines, found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhaustible fund of wealth, that enabled them to sustain such long wars against the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of these treasures that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth, at least of their use and value. The Phœnicians took advantage of this ignorance, and by bartering some wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives suffered them to dig up, they amassed infinite wealth. When the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of the country, they dug much deeper into the earth than the old inhabitants of Spain had done, who probably were content with what they could collect on the surface; and the Romans, when they had dispossessed the Carthaginians of Spain, profited by their example, and drew an immense revenue from these mines of gold and silver.

The labour employed to come at these mines, and to dig the gold and silver out of them, was incredible, for the veins of these metals rarely appeared on the surface; they were to be sought for and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water stopped the miners, and seemed to defeat all future pursuits.<sup>2</sup> But avarice is as

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. p. 352, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. p. 312, &c.



patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of these pits, and quite drained them. Numberless multitudes of slaves perished in these mines, which were dug to enrich their masters, who treated them with the utmost barbarity, forced them by heavy stripes to labour, and gave them no respite either day or night. Polybius,<sup>1</sup> as quoted by Strabo, says, that in his time, upwards of forty thousand men were employed in the mines near *Nova Carthago*, and furnished the Romans every day with twenty-five thousand drachms, or three thousand eight hundred and fifteen dollars and sixty-three cents.<sup>2</sup>

We must not be surprised to see the Carthaginians, soon after the greatest defeats, sending fresh and numerous armies again into the field; fitting out mighty fleets, and supporting, at a great expense, for many years, wars carried on by them in far distant countries. But it must surprise us to hear of the Romans doing the same; they whose revenues were very inconsiderable before those great conquests, which subjected to them the most powerful nations; and who had no resources, either from trade, to which they were absolute strangers, or from gold or silver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in case there were any; and consequently, the expenses of which must have swallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and simple life they led, in their zeal for the public welfare and love for their country, possessed funds which were not less ready or secure than those of Carthage, but at the same time were far more honourable to their nation.

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## SECTION VI.

### WAR.

CARTHAGE must be considered as a trading, and at the same time a warlike republic. Its genius, and the nature of its government, led it to traffic; and from the necessity the Carthaginians were under, first of defending themselves against the neighbouring nations, and afterwards from a desire of extending their commerce and empire, they became warlike. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian republic. We have already spoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians consisted in their alliances with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in some troops raised from among their own citizens; and in mercenary soldiers, purchased of neighbouring states, without their being obliged to levy or exercise them, because they were already well disciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; for they made choice, in every country, of such soldiers as had the greatest merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia a nimble, bold, impetuous, and inde-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-five thousand drachms. — An attle drachm, according to Dr. Bernard = 8½ English money; consequently, 25,000 = 859l. 7s. 6d.

fatigable cavalry, which formed the principal strength of their armies; from the Balearian isles, the most expert slingers in the world; from Spain, a steady and invincible infantry; from the coasts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itself, soldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garrison, for besieging or defending cities.

In this manner, the Carthaginians sent out at once powerful armies, composed of soldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the universe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without suspending their manufactures, or disturbing the peaceful artificer; without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood, they possessed themselves of provinces and kingdoms; and made other nations the instruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expense of their own than their money, and even this furnished from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the course of the war, sustained some losses, these were but as so many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, the body of the state, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republic. These losses were speedily repaired, by sums arising out of a flourishing commerce, as from a perpetual sinew of war, by which the government was furnished with new supplies for the purchase of mercenary forces, who were ready at the first summons. And, from the vast extent of the coasts which the Carthaginians possessed, it was easy for them to levy, in a very little time, a sufficient number of sailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But, as these parts were fortuitously brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or necessary tie. No common and reciprocal interests united them in such a manner as to form a solid and unalterable body. Not one individual in these mercenary armies wished sincerely the prosperity of the state. They did not act with the same zeal, nor expose themselves to dangers with equal resolution, for a republic which they considered as foreign, and which consequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whose happiness constitutes that of the several members who compose it.

In great reverses of fortune, the kings in alliance with the Carthaginians might easily be detached from their interest, either by that jealousy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives; or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.<sup>1</sup>

The tributary nations, being impatient under the weight and disgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themselves with the hopes of finding one less galling in changing their masters; or in case servitude was unavoidable, the choice was indiffer-

ent to them, as will appear from many instances in the course of this history.

The mercenary forces, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the largeness or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the least discontent, or the slightest expectation of a more considerable stipend, to desert to the enemy with whom they had just before fought, and to turn their arms against those who had invited them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians, being sustained only by these foreign supports, was shaken to the very foundation when they were taken away. And if, to this, there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce, by which only they subsisted, arising from the loss of a naval engagement, they imagined themselves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themselves to despondency and despair, as was evidently seen at the end of the first Punic war.

Aristotle, in the treatise where he shows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which harassed Carthage in its later years ought to have taught its citizens, that no miseries are comparable to those of a government which is supported only by foreigners; since neither zeal, security, nor obedience, can be expected from them.

But this was not the case with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to push on their conquests with the same rapidity as the Carthaginians; but then, as they procured every thing from within themselves, and as all the parts of the state were intimately united, they had surer resources in great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reason, they never once thought of suing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a less imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had, besides, a body of troops, which was not very numerous, levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of school, in which the flower of their nobility, and those whose talents and ambition prompted them to aspire to the first dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among these were selected all the general officers who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation was too jealous and suspicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not so distrustful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the same time that they invested them with great power, did not guard against the abuse they might make of it, in order to oppress their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above mentioned. Many generals held their commissions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were still accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct, and liable to be recalled, whenever a real oversight, a misfortune, or the superior interest of a cabal, furnished an opportunity for it.

## SECTION VII.

## ARTS AND SCIENCES.

It cannot be said that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which results from study and knowledge. The sending of Masinissa, son of a powerful king,<sup>1</sup> thither for education, gives us room to believe that Carthage was provided with an excellent school. The great Hannibal, who in all respects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be seen hereafter.<sup>2</sup> Mago, another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen as by his victories.<sup>3</sup> He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries found there, another proof that learning was not entirely banished from Carthage, they gave orders to have these books translated into Latin,<sup>4</sup> though Cato had before written books on that subject. There is still extant a Greek version of a treatise drawn up by Hanno in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made, by order of the Senate, with a considerable fleet, around Africa, for the settling of different colonies in that part of the world.<sup>5</sup>

This Hanno is believed to be more ancient than that person of the same name who lived in the time of Agathocles.

Clitomachus, called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher.<sup>6</sup> He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been; and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic sect. Cicero says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally are.<sup>7</sup> He composed several books, in one of which was a treatise to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery.<sup>8</sup>

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa with their compositions, the celebrated Terence himself, being singly capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions; if, on this account, Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be less considered as his country, than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of style, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all succeeding ages. It is supposed that he was carried off when an infant, or at least very young, by the Numidians, in their incursions into the Carthaginian territories, during the war carried on between these two nations, from the conclusion of the second to the beginning of the third Punic war.<sup>9</sup> He was sold for a slave to Terentius Luca-

<sup>1</sup> King of the Massylians, in Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Nepos in Vitâ Annibalis.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. de Orat. l. i. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> These books were written by Mago in the Punic language, and translated into Greek by Casius Dionysius of Utica, from whose version we may probably suppose the Latin was made.

<sup>5</sup> Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. iv.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. de Fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom.

<sup>7</sup> Clitomachus, homo et acutus ut Pœnus, et valde studiosus ac diligens. — Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Suet. in Vit. Terent.

nus, a Roman senator, who, after giving him an excellent education, freed him, and called him by his own name, as was then the custom. He was united in a very strict friendship with the second Scipio Africanus and Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the assistance of these two great men in composing his pieces.

The poet, so far from endeavouring to stifle a report so advantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only six of his comedies are extant. Some authors, according to Suetonius, (the writer of his life,) say, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he lost a hundred and eight comedies translated from Menander, and could not survive an accident which must naturally afflict him in a sensible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. Be this as it may, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years, and consequently was born *anno* 560.

It must yet be confessed, notwithstanding all we have said, that there ever was a great scarcity of learned men in Carthage, since it hardly furnished three or four writers of reputation in upwards of seven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correspondence with Greece and the most civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquence, poetry, history, seem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philosopher was considered as a sort of prodigy by the learned. What, then, would an astronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what reputation physic, which is so advantageous to life, was held at Carthage; or jurisprudence, so necessary to society.

As works of wit were generally had in so much disregard, the education of youth must necessarily have been very imperfect and unpolished. In Carthage, the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and selling of goods; in a word, to whatever related to traffic. But polite learning, history, and philosophy, were in little repute among them. These were, in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expressly forbade any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, lest it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correspondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth.<sup>1</sup>

Now, what could be expected from such a cast of mind? Accordingly, there was never seen among them that elegance of behaviour, that ease and complacency of manners, and those sentiments of virtue which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The small number of great men which this nation has produced, must therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the singularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any

<sup>1</sup> Factum senatus-consultum ne quis postea Carthaginiensis aut literis Græcis aut sermone studeret; ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete posset. — Justin. l. xx. c. 5. Justin ascribes the reason of this law to a treasonable correspondence between one Suniatus, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek, which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, having informed the tyrant of the war designed against him by his country, out of hatred to Hanno, the general to whom he was an enemy.

great assistance from instruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greatest men of Carthage was sullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel passions; and it is rare to meet with any conspicuous virtue among them without some blemish; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and supported by clear and lasting principles, such as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive, that I here speak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeably to the idea which the pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their skill in arts of a less noble and necessary kind, as painting and sculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both these kinds, but it does not appear that they themselves had produced many.

From what has been said, one cannot help concluding, that traffic was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteristic, of the Carthaginians; that it formed in a manner the basis of the state, the soul of the commonwealth, and the grand spring which gave motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians in general were skilful merchants; employed wholly in traffic; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory in amassing them, though, at the same time, they scarce knew the purpose for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

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## SECTION VIII.

### THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND QUALITIES OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

IN the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero<sup>1</sup> assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning, *calliditas*; which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct; and this was joined to another quality, that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, hypocrisy, and breach of faith; and these, by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristics of the Carthaginians;<sup>2</sup> and it was so notorious, that to signify any *remarkable dishonesty*, it was usual to call it, *Punic honour*, *fides Punica*; and to denote a *knaveish, deceitful mind*, no expression was thought more proper and emphatical than this, a *Carthaginian mind*, *Punicum ingenium*.

An excessive thirst for, and an immoderate love of profit, generally

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<sup>1</sup> Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, sed pietate ac religione, &c., omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. — *De Arusp. Resp.* n. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Carthaginiensis fraudulentum et mendaces — multis et varus mercatorum advenarumque sermonibus ad stadium fallendi questus cupiditate vocabantur. — *Cic. Orat. ii.* in *Null.* n. 94.

gave occasion, in Carthage, to the committing of base and unjust actions. A single example will prove this. In the time of a truce, granted by Scipio to the earnest entreaties of the Carthaginians, some Roman vessels, being driven by a storm on the coast of Carthage, were seized by order of the senate and people,<sup>1</sup> who could not suffer so tempting a prey to escape them. They were resolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it were ever so scandalous. The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Austin's time, as that father informs us, showed, on a particular occasion, that they still retained part of this characteristic.<sup>2</sup>

But these were not the only blemishes and faults of the Carthaginians.<sup>3</sup> They had something austere and savage in their disposition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a sort of ferocity, which in its first starts was deaf to either reason or remonstrances, and plunged brutally into the utmost excesses of violence. The people, cowardly and grovelling under apprehensions, were proud and cruel in their transports; at the same time that they trembled under their magistrates, they were dreaded in their turn by their miserable vassals. In this we see the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whose city was always considered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority and difficult to govern; but still a fund of good nature and humanity made them compassionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day desired the assembly, in which he presided, to break up, because, as he told them, he had a sacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the request, and immediately separated. Such a liberty, says Plutarch, at Carthage, would have cost a man his life.

Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro.<sup>4</sup> That general, on his return to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his ill conduct, was met by persons of all orders of the state, at some distance from Rome, and thanked by them for his not having despaired of the commonwealth; who, says the historian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, must have expected the most severe punishment: *Cui, si Carthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.* Indeed, a court was established at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they were all made responsible for the events of the war. Ill success was punished there as a crime against the state; and whenever a general lost a battle, he was almost sure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous disposition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to shed the

<sup>1</sup> Magistratum senatum vocare, populus in curiæ vestibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur præda. Consensum est ut, &c. — Liv. l. xxx. n. 24.

<sup>2</sup> A mountebank had promised the citizens of Carthage, to discover to them their most secret thoughts, in case they would come, on a day appointed, to hear him. Being all met, he told them they were desirous to buy cheap and sell dear. Every man's conscience pleaded guilty to the charge; and the mountebank was dismissed with applause and laughter. — Vili vultis emere, et care vendere; in quo dicto levissimi scenici omnes tamen conscientias invenerunt suas, eique vera et tamen improvisa discenti admirabili favore plausuerunt. — S. August. l. xlii. de Trinit. c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. de Gen. Rep. p. 799.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. xxii. n. 61.

blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus suffer, are a manifest proof of this assertion; and their history will furnish us with such instances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

## PART SECOND.

### THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included seven hundred years, and may be divided into two chapters. The first, which is much the longest, and is least known, as is ordinary with the beginnings of all states, extends to the first Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The second, which ends at the destruction of Carthage, contains but a hundred and eighteen years.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS PROGRESS TILL THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

CARTHAGE, in Africa, was a colony from Tyre, the most renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before transplanted another colony into that country, which built Utica,<sup>1</sup> made famous by the death of the second Cato, who for this reason is generally called Cato Uticensis.

Authors disagree very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage.<sup>2</sup> It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at least, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is sufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

Carthage existed a little above seven hundred years.<sup>3</sup> It was destroyed under the consulate of Cn. Lentulus and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world

<sup>1</sup> Utica et Carthago ambæ inclytæ, ambæ a Phœnicibus conditæ; illa fato Catonis insignis, hæc suo.—Pompon. Mel. c. 67. Utica and Carthage, both famous, and both built by Phœnicians; the first renowned by Cato's fate, the last by its own.

<sup>2</sup> Our countryman Howel endeavoured to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage in the following manner. He says, that the town consisted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it, which he supposes to have been first built; Megara, built next, and in respect of Cothon called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrsa, or the citadel, built last of all, and probably by Dido.

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correspond with Eusebius, was built a hundred and ninety-four years later; Byrsa, to agree with Menander, cited by Josephus, was built a hundred and sixty-six years after Megara.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. Epit. l. II.



3158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elissa, a Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido.<sup>1</sup> Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, called in Scripture Ethbaal, was her great-grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwise Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, was her brother. This prince, having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity of seizing his immense treasures, Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing secretly with all her dead husband's possessions. After having long wandered, she at last landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the gulf where Utica stood, and in the country of Africa, properly so called, distant almost fifteen miles from Tunis,<sup>2</sup> so famous, at this time, for its corsairs; and there settled with her few followers, after having purchased some lands from the inhabitants of the country.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the prospect of lucre, repaired thither to sell to these foreigners the necessaries of life, and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, soon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica, considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shown to strangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was appointed to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon, and called it Carthada,<sup>4</sup> or Carthage, a name that in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues, which have a great affinity, signifies the New City. It is said that, when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people.<sup>5</sup>

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas, king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound her-

<sup>1</sup> Justin. l. xviii. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de Bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 882. Patere. l. i. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> One hundred and twenty stadia. — Strab. l. xiv. p. 687.

<sup>3</sup> Some authors say, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by desiring to purchase of them, for her intended settlement, only so much land as an ox's hide would encompass. The request was thought too moderate to be denied. She then cut the hide into the smallest things, and with them encompassed a large tract of ground, on which she built a citadel, called Byrsa, from the hide. But this tale of the hide is generally exploded by the learned, who observe, that the Hebrew word Bosra, which signifies a fortification, gave rise to the Greek word Byrsa, which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.

<sup>4</sup> Kartha Hadath, or Hadtha.

<sup>5</sup> Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno  
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello  
Egrediam, et facilem victu per secula, gentem.

Virg. Æn. l. i. 443.

The Tyrians, landing near this holy ground,  
And digging here, a prosperous omen found:  
From under earth a courser's head they drew,  
Their growth and future fortune to foreshew;  
This fated sign their foundress Juno gave,  
Of a soil fruitful, and a people brave. — — — Dryden.

self by an oath not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for deliberation, and for appeasing the manes of her first husband by sacrifice. Having, therefore, ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it; and drawing out a dagger she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it.<sup>1</sup>

Virgil has made a great alteration in this history, by supposing that Æneas, his hero, was contemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other: the era of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years later than the destruction of Troy. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of a historian; we admire, with great reason, the judgment he has shown in his plan, when, to interest the Romans, for whom he wrote, he has the art of introducing the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

Carthage, whose beginnings, as we have observed, were very weak, grew larger by insensible degrees, in the country where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. The inhabitants of this ambitious city extended their conquests into Europe, by invading Sardinia, seizing a great part of Sicily, and reducing almost all Spain; and, having sent powerful colonies every where, they enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than six hundred years, and formed a state which was able to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires of the world, by their wealth, their commerce, their numerous armies, their formidable fleets, and, above all, by the courage and ability of their captains. The dates and circumstances of many of these conquests are little known; I shall take but a transient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form some idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN AFRICA.

THE first wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans, for the territory which had been ceded to them.<sup>2</sup> This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they

<sup>1</sup> The story, as it is told more at large in Justin. l. xviii. c. 6, is this. — Iarbas, king of the Mauritians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war against her in case of a refusal. The ambassadors, being afraid to deliver the message of Iarbas, told her, with Punic honesty, that he wanted to have some person sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans; but that there was no possibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the conversation of barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here the queen, with indignation, interrupting them, and asking if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives, they then delivered the king's message, and bade her set them a pattern, and sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Dido being thus ensnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and answered that she would go where the fate of her city called her. At the expiration of three months, she ascended the fatal pile, and with her last breath told the spectators, that she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

were desirous of covering the obscurity of their original by abolishing this proof of it. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and they prospered accordingly, the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and gained many conquests over both.<sup>1</sup> Being now emboldened by these happy successes, they shook off entirely the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness, and possessed themselves of a great part of Africa.<sup>2</sup>

About this time there arose a great dispute between Carthage and Cyrene, on account of their respective limits.<sup>3</sup> Cyrene was a very powerful city, situated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus the Lacedæmonian.

It was agreed on each side, that two young men should set out at the same time from each city, and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians (these were two brothers named Philæni) made the most haste, and their antagonists, pretending that foul play had been used, and that the two brothers above mentioned had set out before the time appointed, refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers, to remove all suspicion of unfair dealing, would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced in the proposal, and the Carthaginians erected, on that spot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city, and, from that time, the place was called the Altars of the Philæni, *Aræ Philænorum*,<sup>4</sup> and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SARDINIA, &c.

HISTORY does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner they got possession of it. This island was of great use to them, and during all their wars supplied them abundantly with provisions.<sup>5</sup> It is separated from Corsica by a strait of about three leagues over. The metropolis of the southern and most fertile part of it, was Caralis, or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the island, which are almost inaccessible, and whence the enemy could not dislodge them.

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Baleares, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Magon, in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of and fortified it. It is not known who this Mago was; but it is very probable

<sup>1</sup> Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditæ Carthaginiensibus remittere.*—Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sallust. de Bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6.*

<sup>4</sup> These pillars were not standing in Strabo's time. Some geographers think Arcadia to be the city which was anciently called Philænorum Aræ; but others believe it was Naina or Tain, situated a little west of Arcadia, in the gulf of Sidra.

<sup>5</sup> *Strab. l. v. p. 224. Diod. l. v. p. 296.*

that he was Hannibal's brother.<sup>1</sup> This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world, who did them great service in battles and sieges.<sup>2</sup> They slung large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden bullets<sup>3</sup> with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed the mark. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed from their infancy to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed, on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, who were not allowed a morsel, till they had brought it down with their slings. From this practice these islands were called *Baleares* and *Gymnasias* by the Greeks;<sup>4</sup> because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging of stones.<sup>5</sup>

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

BEFORE I enter on the relation of these conquests, I think it proper to give my readers some idea of Spain.

Spain is divided into three parts, *Bœtica*, *Lusitania*, *Tarraconia*.<sup>6</sup>

*Bœtica*, so called from the river *Bœtia*,<sup>7</sup> was the southern division of it, and comprehended the present kingdom of *Granada*, *Andalusia*, part of *New Castile*, and *Estramadura*. *Cadiz*, called by the ancients *Gades*, and *Gadira*, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of *Andalusia*, about nine leagues from *Gibraltar*. It is well known that *Hercules*, having extended his conquests to this place, halted from the supposition that he was come to the extremity of the world.<sup>8</sup> He here erected two pillars as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite destroyed these pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regard to the place where these pillars were erected. *Bœtica* was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and the most populous part of Spain.<sup>9</sup> It contained two

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxviii. n. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Diocl. l. v. n. 298, and l. xix. p. 742. Liv. loco citato.

<sup>3</sup> *Liquescit excusso glans fundâ, et atritu aëris velut igne, distillat; t. e.* The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and, by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire. — Senec. Nat. Quæst.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. l. iii. p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> Bochart derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, *Baal-jare*, or master in the art of slinging. This strengthens the authority of Strabo, viz. that the inhabitants learnt their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their masters. *Σφαιροσθῆται ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰβηρίων* — *Ἰβήρων σφαιρικῶς καθόρουσεν τὰς νήσους*. And this is still more probable, when we consider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian slings would annoy an enemy, either near at hand, or at a distance. Every slinger carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a second from the waist, and a third was carried in the hand. To these give me leave to add two more observations, (foreign indeed to the present purpose, but relating to these islands,) which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The first is, that these islands were once so infested with rabbits, that the inhabitants applied to Rome, either for aid against them, or otherwise desired new habitations, *ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ τὴν τῶν ζώων νήσους*, those creatures having ejected them out of their old ones. — Vide Strab. Plin. l. viii. c. 55. The second observation is, that these islanders were not only expert slingers, but likewise excellent swimmers; which they are to this day, by the testimony of our countryman Biddulph, who, in his travels, informs us, that being becalmed near these islands, a woman swam to him out of one of them, with a basket of fruit to sell.

<sup>6</sup> Cluver. l. ii. c. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Guadalquivir.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. l. iii. p. 171.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 139—142.

hundred cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Bœtis stood three large cities; Castulo towards the source; Corduba lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Senecas; lastly, Hispalis.<sup>1</sup> Lusitania is bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durius,<sup>2</sup> and on the south by the river Anas.<sup>3</sup> Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

Tarraconia comprehended the rest of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Galicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Tarraco,<sup>4</sup> a very considerable city, gave its name to that part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino.<sup>5</sup> Its name gave rise to the conjecture that it was built by Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, father of the great Hannibal. The most renowned nations of Tarraconia were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus;<sup>6</sup> the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; the Ovitani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and the ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike disposition, from the very genius and constitution of their republic. They doubtless knew that their Phœnician ancestors, as Diodorus relates,<sup>7</sup> taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards with regard to the immense riches which were hid in the bowels of their land, first took from them these precious treasures in exchange for commodities of little value. They likewise foresaw, that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well-disciplined troops for the conquests of other nations, as actually happened.

The occasion of the Carthaginians first landing in Spain, was to assist the inhabitants of Cadix, who were invaded by the Spaniards.<sup>8</sup> That city, as well as Utica and Carthage, was a colony of Tyre, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, established there the worship of Hereules; and erected in his honour a magnificent temple, which became famous in after ages. The success of this first expedition of the Carthaginians, made them desirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great resolution and courage. Nor could they ever have accomplished their design, as Strabo observes,<sup>9</sup> had the Spaniards, united in a body, formed but one state, and mutually assisted one another. But as every district, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence nor connexion with them, the Carthaginians were

<sup>1</sup> Seville.

<sup>4</sup> Tarragona.

<sup>7</sup> *Lib. v. p. 312.*

<sup>2</sup> Duero.

<sup>5</sup> Barcelona.

<sup>6</sup> Justin. l. xliiv. c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 300.

<sup>8</sup> Gaudiana.

<sup>9</sup> Ebro.

<sup>9</sup> *Lib. iii. p. 154.*

forced to subdue them one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on one hand, the loss of Spain; but on the other, protracted the war, and made the conquest of the country much more difficult;<sup>1</sup> accordingly, it has been observed, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued;<sup>2</sup> and was not entirely subjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous opposition for upwards of two hundred years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will soon be mentioned, that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country before that period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they completed the conquest of almost the whole country.

At the time that Hannibal set out for Italy, all the coast of Africa, from the Philænorum Aræ, by the great Syrtis, to the pillars of Hercules, was subject to the Carthaginians.<sup>3</sup> Passing through the strait, they had conquered all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coast which lies on the Mediterranean had been almost wholly subdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthage, and they were masters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was at that time the extent of their empire. In the centre of the country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.

THE wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This period includes near two hundred and twenty years, viz. from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, three brothers who succeeded one another, with a sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time the two Dionysiuses, Timoleon, and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars of which I am about to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians at the time that they began to be engaged in war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called Tri-

<sup>1</sup> Such a division of Britain retarded, and at the same time facilitated, the conquest of it to the Romans. Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. — Tacit.

<sup>2</sup> Hispania prima Romanis inita Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium perdomita est. — Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 192, l. i. p. 9.

nacria and Triquetra. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from Cape Pachynum<sup>1</sup> to Pelorum.<sup>2</sup> The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Messana. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from Cape Pelorum to Cape Lilybæum.<sup>3</sup> The most noted cities on this coast are Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from Cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina. This island is separated from Italy by a strait, which is not more than a mile and a half over, and called the Faro, or Strait of Messina, from its contiguity to that city. The passage from Lilybæum to Africa<sup>4</sup> is about 1500 furlongs, that is about seventy-five leagues.<sup>5</sup>

The period in which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known.<sup>6</sup> All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it at the time they entered into a treaty with the Romans; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their room, viz. twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the first we find mentioned to have been made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions, with regard to Sicily, relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory,<sup>7</sup> which was very near Carthage; and that such merchants as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties, as are settled in it.<sup>8</sup>

It appears by the same treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, had taken umbrage at the rising power of the Romans, and already harboured in their breasts the secret seeds of jealousy and distrust, that were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and a mutual hatred and animosity, which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of the contending powers.

Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes, king of Persia.<sup>9</sup> This prince, who aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Greeks,

<sup>1</sup> Passaro.

<sup>2</sup> Il Faro.

<sup>3</sup> Cape Boëo.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, l. vi. p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> This is Strabo's calculation; but there must be a mistake in the numeral characters, and what he immediately subjoins, is a proof of this mistake. He says, that a man, whose eyesight was good, might, from the coast of Sicily, count the vessels that came out of the port of Carthage. Is it possible that the eye can carry so far as 60 or 75 leagues? This passage of Strabo, therefore, must be thus corrected. The passage from Lilybæum to Africa is only 25 leagues.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3501. A. Carth. 343. Rome, 245. Ant. J. C. 503. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, et seq. Edit. Gronov.

<sup>7</sup> The reason of this restraint, according to Polybius, was the unwillingness of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the south, in order that this enterprising people might not hear of their fertility. — Polyb. l. iii. p. 247. Edit. Gronov.

Polyb. l. iii. p. 246.

<sup>9</sup> A. M. 2520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16, and 22.

whom he considered as his irreconcilable enemies, thought it would be impossible for him to succeed in his enterprise without the assistance of Carthage, whose power was formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the design they entertained of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, eagerly embraced the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for completing the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded, wherein it was agreed that the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, while Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

The preparations for this war lasted three years. The land army amounted to no less than three hundred thousand men. The fleet consisted of two thousand ships of war, and upwards of three thousand small vessels of burden. Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo,<sup>1</sup> and, after refreshing his troops, he marched against Hymera, a city not far distant from Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. He flew immediately to his relief with fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse. His arrival infused new courage into the besieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been despatched from Selinuntum, a city of Sicily, with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry, which he had requested. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own troops, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. These being admitted into the enemy's camp, as coming from Selinuntum, rushed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and set fire to his ships. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked with all his forces the Carthaginians, who at first made a gallant resistance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful slaughter ensued; upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand being slain. The rest of the army, having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This battle was fought on the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which three hundred Spartans,<sup>2</sup> with the sacrifice of their lives, disputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the sad news was brought to Carthage of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into such a confusion and alarm as are not to be expressed. It was imagined that the enemy were already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. Immediately they sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their

<sup>1</sup> This city is called in Latin Panormus.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the 300 Spartans, the Thessians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas in this memorable battle. — Herod. l. vii. c. 202—222.



envoys with great humanity. The complete victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace without any other condition than their paying two thousand talents<sup>1</sup> towards the expense of the war. He likewise required them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, that was so absolutely necessary to their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. Gisco, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom of the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of a war, and making him bear the blame of it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly unarmed, and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption than the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant, and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with a unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse,<sup>2</sup> where Nicias perished with his whole fleet, the Segestans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinuntum, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. At Carthage, the people debated some time what course would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city, which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the powers and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and become, by so splendid a victory, more formidable than ever. At last the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who at that time was invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes. He was grandson of Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Hymera, and son of Gisco, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, animated with an ardent desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army, as well as fleet, under his command. He landed at a place called the *Well of Lilybarum*, which gave its name to a city, afterwards built on the same spot. His

<sup>1</sup> An Attic silver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is £206 5s.; consequently 2000 talents is £412,500, or \$1,881,500.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3592. A. Carth. 434. A. Rome, 836. Ant. J. C. 412. Diod. l. xiii. p. 169—171, 179—186.

first enterprise was the siege of Selinuntum. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the very women showing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without showing the least regard either to age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to return to the city after it had been dismantled, and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty-two years.

Hymera, which he next besieged and took likewise by storm, after being more cruelly treated than Selinuntum, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years from its foundation. He forced three thousand prisoners to undergo every kind of ignominious punishment, and at last murdered them on the very spot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry, to appease and satisfy his manes by the blood of these unhappy victims.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him with the most joyful acclamations.

These successes rekindled the desire and revived the design, which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of making themselves masters of all Sicily.<sup>1</sup> Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time, and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant Imilcon, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were proportioned to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were soon ready, and set out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand, and according to Ephorus, to three hundred thousand men. The enemy, on their side, were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them, and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the first fury of the enemy. This city was immensely rich,<sup>2</sup> and strongly fortified. It was situated, as were Hymera and Selinuntum, on that coast of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable, except on one side, he directed his

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xiii. p. 201—203, 206—211, 226—231.

<sup>2</sup> The very sepulchral monuments showed the magnificence and luxury of this city, they being adorned with the statues of birds and horses. But the wealth and boundless generosity of Gelliar, one of its inhabitants, is almost incredible. He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts; and, during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger; he gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair; he had built houses in the city and country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. Five hundred shipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully relieved, and every man supplied with a cloak and coat out of his wardrobe.—Diod. l. xiii. Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Empedocles the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow-citizens, that the Agrigentines squandered their money so excessively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever.

whole force to that quarter. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls, and made use, on this occasion, of the rubbish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts many fancied they had seen stalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demolished; prayers were ordered to be made, according to the practice of Carthage; a child was sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a most inhumanly superstitious custom; and many victims were thrown into the sea, in honour of Neptune.

The besieged, who at first had gained several advantages, were at last so pressed by famine, that all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpose. The reader will naturally imagine to himself the grief with which these miserable people must be seized, on their being forced to leave their houses, their rich possessions, and their country; but life was still dearer to them than all these. Never was a more melancholy spectacle seen. To omit the rest, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless infants, in order to secure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the most grievous circumstance, was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who were unable either to fly or to make the least resistance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the nearest city in their way, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immense, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plundered before. A numberless multitude of pictures, vases, and statues of all kinds were found here, the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities, was the famous bull of Phalaris,<sup>1</sup> which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum had lasted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshment; and left this city, after laying it entirely in ruins, in the beginning of the spring. He afterwards besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the Tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius. The conditions of it were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicanians,<sup>2</sup> Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled

<sup>1</sup> This bull, with other spoils here taken, was afterwards restored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage, in the third Punic war. — Cic. l. iv. in Verrem, c. 33.

<sup>2</sup> The Sicanians and Sicilians were anciently two distinct people.

cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage; that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence; lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague still made dreadful havoc.

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, with no other view than to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for the war which he meditated against them.<sup>1</sup> As he was very sensible how formidable these people were, he used his utmost endeavours to enable himself to invade them with success, and his design was wonderfully well seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of this prince, the strong desire he had to distinguish himself, the charms of gain, and the prospects of the rewards which he promised those who should show the greatest industry, invited from all quarters into Sicily, the most able artists and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuse now became in a manner an immense workshop, in every part of which men were seen making swords, helmets, shields, and military engines, and preparing all things necessary for building ships and fitting out fleets. The invention of vessels with five benches of oars (or *quinqueremes*) was at that time very recent; for, till then, those with three alone had been used.<sup>2</sup>

Dionysius animated the workmen by his presence, and by the applauses he gave, and the bounty which he bestowed seasonably; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited, more strongly than any other conduct, the industry and ardour of the workmen,<sup>3</sup> the most excellent of whom, in every art, had frequently the honour to dine with him.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his designs before them, and represented to them that the Carthaginians were the professed enemies of the Greeks; that they had no less in view than the invasion of all Sicily, the subjecting of all the Grecian cities; and that, in case their progress was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked; that the reason why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprise, and continued inactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havoc made by the plague among them, which, he observed, was a favorable opportunity for the Syracusans. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people bore to the Carthaginians prevailed over all other considerations, and every one, guided more by the views of an interested policy, than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made, or any declaration of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them resided at that time in Syracuse, and traded there on the faith of treaties. The common people ran to their houses, plundered their

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3400. A. Carth. 442. A. Rome, 344. Ant. J. C. 404. Dion. l. xiv. p. 268—278.

<sup>2</sup> Triremes.

<sup>3</sup> Honos alit artes.

effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorized to exercise every ignominy, and inflict every kind of punishment on them, for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. This was the bloody signal of the war which was declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice, (in his way,) sent deputies to Carthage, to require them to restore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that otherwise all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the sad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and pushed the siege on with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering rams, advanced towers six stories high to the wall, rolled upon wheels, and of an equal height with their houses; and from these he greatly annoyed the besieged with furious volleys of arrows and stones sent from his *catapultas*, an engine at that time of late invention.<sup>1</sup> At last the city, after a long and vigorous defence, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the sword, those excepted who took sanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a trusty governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

The following year Imilcon, being appointed one of the *suffetes*, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before.<sup>2</sup> He landed at Palermo,<sup>3</sup> took several cities, and recovered Motya by force of arms. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, with a design to besiege it; marching his infantry by land, while his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracusans into great consternation. Above two hundred ships, laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the same time the land army, consisting, according to some authors, of three hundred thousand foot,<sup>4</sup> and three thousand horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter, and the rest of the army encamped, at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half, from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon, satisfied at his having extorted from the Syracusans this confession of their own weakness and his superiority, returned to his camp, not doubting but he should soon be master of the city, considering it already as a certain prey, which could not possibly escape him. For thirty days together, he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse,

<sup>1</sup> The curious reader will find a very particular account of it in a subsequent part of this work.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xiv. p. 279—295. Justin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Panorama*.

<sup>4</sup> Some authors say but thirty thousand foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by sea was so formidable.

and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Acradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which stood round the city, and, among others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was exceeding magnificent.

But these successes were not lasting. All the splendour of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says Diodorus, that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. While Imilcon, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to finish his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havoc in it. It was now the midst of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. Care was taken at first to inter the dead; but the number increased daily, and, the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied, and the sick could have no assistance. This plague was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even seized with madness and fury, so that they would fall upon any person that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

Dionysius did not lose this favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy. Imilcon's army, being more than half conquered by the plague, could make but a feeble resistance. The Carthaginian ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuse, their old men, women and children, came pouring out of the city, to behold an event, which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of their city, for having revenged the sanctity of temples and tombs, which had been so brutally violated by these barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired, when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius for leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents,<sup>1</sup> which was all the specie he had then left. Permission only could be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon stole away in the night, and left the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

In such unhappy circumstances did the Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retire from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, but most of all that of his country, he, with the most insolent fury, accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. "The enemy," continued he, "may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracasans, and are defeated by the plague alone. No part," added he, "of the disaster touches me so much as my surviving so many gallant men, and being reserved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so dire a calamity. However, since I brought back

<sup>1</sup> About \$274,300.

the miserable remains of an army which have been committed to my care, I now have nothing to do, but to follow the brave soldiers who lie dead before Syracuse, and show my country, that I did not survive them out of a fondness of life, but merely to preserve the troops which had escaped the plague from the fury of the enemy, to which my more early death would have abandoned them."

Being now arrived in Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children, and then gave himself the fatal stroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, though it was, in reality, no other than cowardly despair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not stop here; for the Africans, who, from time immemorial, had borne an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, being now exasperated to fury, because their countrymen had been left behind and exposed to the murdering sword of the Syracusans, assemble in the most frantic manner, sound the alarm, take up arms, and, after seizing upon Tunis, march directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thousand men. The citizens now gave themselves up for lost. This new incident was considered by them as the sad effect of the wrath of the gods, which pursued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, especially in all public calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them, in the plundering of their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual, if I may use the expression, were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner to appease those angry goddesses, and to merit their favour. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a soul; no provisions or military engines; no discipline or subordination were seen among them, every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming an independence from the rest. Divisions, therefore, arising in this rabble of an army, and the famine increasing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their enterprises on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the suffetes, lost a great battle, in which he was slain. The Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expenses of the war. They pretended to accept the terms; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without first obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained so long a truce, as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. They took advantage of this in-

terval, to raise and discipline new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. As soon as he arrived in Sicily, at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle; in which Leptinus,<sup>1</sup> one of the generals of the latter, was killed, and upwards of fourteen thousand Syracusans left dead on the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in possession of all they had in Sicily, and even the addition of some strongholds, besides a thousand talents,<sup>2</sup> which were paid to them for defraying the expenses of the war.

About this time a law was enacted at Carthage, by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or speak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of corresponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth or in writing.<sup>3</sup> This was occasioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had written in Greek to Dionysius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

Carthage had soon after another calamity to struggle with.<sup>4</sup> The plague spread in the city, and made terrible havoc. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, seized on a sudden the heads of the distempered; who, sallying sword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to them; but both were subjected, and reduced to their allegiance. Dionysius formed at this time an enterprise in Sicily, with the same views, which was equally unsuccessful.<sup>5</sup> He died, some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently about the time we are now speaking of. This second treaty was nearly the same with the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expressly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great troubles.<sup>6</sup> Dionysius the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Ictetes, tyrant of the

<sup>1</sup> This Leptinus was brother to Dionysius.

<sup>2</sup> About \$914,640.

<sup>3</sup> Justin. l. xx. c. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. xv. p. 344.

<sup>5</sup> This is the Dionysius who invited Plato to his court; and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, sold him for a slave. Some philosophers came from Greece to Syracuse, in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they sent him home with this useful lesson — that philosophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converse with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to pass for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had sent his verses, to be repeated by his brother Thearidea. It had been happy for Dionysius had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for, on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raised to such a transport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he should die when he had overcome his betters.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3656. A. Carth. 408. A. Rome, 400. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 252 Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plat. in Timol.



Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a very favorable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who often assisted them in their dangers, and were, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies to tyranny, and the most avowed and most generous assertors of liberty. Accordingly the Corinthians sent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, and who had signalized his zeal for the public welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expense of his own family. He set sail with only ten ships, and, arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy stratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who, having been informed, by Icetes, of his voyage and design, wanted to intercept him in his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarce a thousand soldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he marched boldly to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased in proportion as he advanced. The Syracusans were now in a desperate condition, and quite hopeless. They saw the Carthaginians masters of the port, Icetes of the city, and Dionysius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius, having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition in it, and escaped, by his assistance, to Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Timoleon had, by his emissaries, artfully represented to the foreign forces in Mago's army, (which, by an error in the constitution of Carthage, before taken notice of, was chiefly composed of such, and even the greatest part of whom were Greeks,) that it was astonishing to see Greeks using their endeavours to make barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would pass over into Greece. For, could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come so far, with no other view than to establish Icetes tyrant of Syracuse? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave this general very great uneasiness; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed that his forces were going to betray and desert him, and upon this he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long against the Corinthians; so that they now got entire possession of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him, by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people. New forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was sent to Sicily.<sup>2</sup> It consisted

<sup>1</sup> Here he preserved some resemblance of his former tyranny, by turning schoolmaster, and exercising a discipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannise over men. He had learning, and was once a scholar to Plato, whom he caused to come again into Sicily, notwithstanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionysius's father. Philip, king of Macedon, meeting him in the streets at Corinth, and asking him how he came to lose so considerable a principality as had been left him by his father, he answered, that his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which had preserved both himself and that.—However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill, from which she had raised his father.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. p. 248—250.

of two hundred ships of war, besides a thousand transports; and the army amounted to upwards of seventy thousand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and resolved to attack the Corinthians first. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. But, such was the consternation of Syracuse, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only three thousand Syracusans, and four thousand mercenaries, followed him; and a thousand of the latter deserted upon the march, through fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not discouraged; but, exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves courageously for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous, he had been informed, was on the banks of the little river Crimisa. It appeared, at the first reflection, inexcusable folly to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thousand foot, and a thousand horse; but Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is superior to numbers, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thousand of them slain, full three thousand of whom were Carthaginian citizens; which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners.

Timoleon,<sup>1</sup> at the same time that he despatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. For he was passionately desirous of having this city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth alone, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings died in the blood of its citizens, the sight of which could tend only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses; but with those of barbarians, which, by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, *That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks settled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgment of the favour and goodness of the gods.*

After this, Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to waste and destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the thousand soldiers who had deserted him; and took no other revenge, than commanding them to leave Syracuse before sunset.

This victory gained by the Corinthians, was followed by the capture of many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace.

In proportion as the appearance of success made the Carthaginians vigorously exert themselves to raise powerful armies both by land and sea, and prosperity led them to make an insolent and cruel use of vic-

<sup>1</sup> Plut. 248—250.

tory; so their courage would sink in unforeseen adversities, their hopes of new resources vanish, and their grovelling souls condescend to ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and, without sense of shame, accept the hardest and most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were, that they should possess only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus;<sup>1</sup> that they should give all the natives liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects; and that they should neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correspondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by Justin.<sup>2</sup> Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republic, by destroying the whole senate. He chose, for the execution of this bloody plan, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The conspiracy was discovered, but Hanno had such influence, that the government did not dare to punish so execrable a crime: the magistrates contented themselves with only preventing it, by an order, which forbade, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and limited the expense on those occasions. Hanno, seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force, and for that purpose armed all the slaves. However, he was again discovered; and, to escape punishment, retired, with twenty thousand armed slaves, to a castle that was very strongly fortified, and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken prisoner, and carried to Carthage, where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, and he was put to death in the presence of the people, and his body, all torn with stripes, hung on a gibbet. His children, and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, in order that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. Such was the temper of the Carthaginians; ever severe and violent in their punishments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without showing the least regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

I now come to the wars sustained by the Carthaginians in Africa itself, as well as in Sicily, against Agathocles, which exercised their arms during several years.<sup>3</sup>

This Agathocles was a Sicilian, of obscure birth and low fortune.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called Lyous by Diodorus and Plutarch; but this is thought a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. lib. xxi. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3685. A. Carth. 527. A. Rome, 429. Ant. J. C. 319. Diod. l. xix. p. 651—656, 710—712, 737—743, 760. Justin. l. li. c. 1—6.

<sup>4</sup> He was, according to most historians, the son of a potter, but all allow him to have worked at the trade. From the obscurity of his birth and condition, Polybius uses an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to the slanders of Timæus. But his greatest eulogium was the praise of Scipio. That illustrious Roman being asked, who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs, answered, Agathocles and Dionysius.—Polyb. l. xv. p. 1093.

Supported at first by the forces of the Carthaginians, he had invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and made himself tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar, their chief, forced him to agree to a peace, which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon infringed the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves, who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a signal victory over him,<sup>1</sup> and forced him to shut himself up in Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither, and laid siege to that important city, the capture of which would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who saw himself deserted by all his allies, from their detestation of his horrid cruelties, meditated a design of so daring, and, to all appearance, of so impracticable a nature, that even after success, it yet appears almost incredible. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is as astonishing as the design itself. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no person whatsoever, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from the dangers that surrounded them; that they had only to endure with patience, for a short time, the inconveniences of a siege; but that those who could not bring themselves to this resolution, might freely depart the city. Only sixteen hundred persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a stout defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents,<sup>2</sup> to supply his present wants; well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary to his subsistence. He therefore set sail, with two of his sons, Archagathus and Heraclides, without letting any one person know whither he intended his course. All who were on board his fleet believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder those countries, or to lay waste those coasts of Sicily which belonged to the enemy. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure, endeavoured to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their pursuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not discover his design till he had landed in Africa. There assembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented, that the only way to free their country, was to carry the war into the territories of their enemies; that he led them, who were inured to war and of intrepid dispositions, against a parcel of enemies who were softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, oppressed with the yoke of servitude, equally cruel and ignominious,

Edit. Gronov. However, let his capacity have been ever so great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.

<sup>1</sup> The battle was fought near the river and city of Himera.

<sup>2</sup> 50,000 French crowns, or \$55,000.

would run in crowds to join them on the first news of their arrival, that the boldness of their attempt would alone disconcert the Carthaginians, who had no expectation of seeing an enemy at their gates: in short, that no enterprise could possibly be more advantageous or honourable than this, since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by the latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and received his speech with applause and acclamations. One circumstance alone gave them uneasiness, and that was, an eclipse of the sun happening just as they were setting sail. In these ages, even the most civilized nations understood very little the reason of these extraordinary phenomena of nature; and used to draw from them (by their soothsayers) superstitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either suspend or hasten the most important enterprises. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that, therefore, good fortune was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his soldiers in the good disposition he wished them, he executed, almost at the same time, a second enterprise, which was even more daring and hazardous than his first, of carrying them over into Africa; and this was, the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ships could lie in safety. As the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would not have failed to possess themselves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the least resistance. In case he had left as many hands as were necessary to defend it, he would have weakened his army, which was inconsiderable at the best, and put it out of his power to gain any advantage by this unexpected diversion, the success of which depended entirely on the swiftness and vigour of the execution. Lastly, he was desirous of putting his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge than victory. Much courage was necessary to adopt such a resolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his service, and received every impression he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly, with a crown on his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and, with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, and addressing himself to the assembly, "When we," says he, "left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in this fatal necessity, I addressed myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily, and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me, therefore, O soldiers, to discharge my vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way on board his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. The soldiers had not been

allowed time to reflect on the proposal made to them. They had all been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour; but when they had a little recovered their reason, and, surveying in their minds the vast extent of ocean which separated them from their own country, saw themselves in that of the enemy, without the least resource, or any means of escaping out of it, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded the transport of joy and acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they marched to this place afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On each side were seen large meads watered by beautiful streams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country-seats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit-trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which delighted the eye. This prospect reanimated the soldiers. They marched, full of courage, to the Great City, which they took, sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis, which was not far distant from Carthage, made as little resistance.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square of the city, while the senate assembled in haste, and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preserving the city. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy, and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country, and among the allies. It was therefore resolved, after several different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of the forces thus levied amounted to forty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided between themselves by some family quarrels, were, however, joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle.<sup>6</sup> Agathocles had, at most, but thirteen or fourteen thousand men.<sup>1</sup> The signal was given, and an obstinate fight ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, the flower of the Carthaginian forces, long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes even broke their ranks; but at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell dead on the field. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things, but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper

<sup>1</sup> Agathocles, wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which looked well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under on sight of the enemy's horse, he let fly a great many owls, privately procured for that purpose, which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory.—*Diod. ad Ann. 3 Olymp. p. 117.*

to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which by that means was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, he returned and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thousand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of their taking many prisoners. The result of this victory was the capture of a great number of strongholds, and the defection of many of the natives of the country, who joined the victor.

This descent of Agathocles into Africa doubtless gave birth to Scipio's design of making a like attempt upon the same republic, and from the same place.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore, in his answer to Fabius, who ascribed to temerity his design of making Africa the seat of the war, he forgot not to mention the example of Agathocles, as an instance in favour of his enterprise, and to show, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, who presses too closely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies, ambassadors came to them from Tyre.<sup>2</sup> They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which their countrymen, for so they called them, were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve them, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and deputed thirty of their principal citizens, to express their grief that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however despond. They committed their wives, children,<sup>3</sup> and old men, to the care of those deputies; and, being delivered from all inquietude with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any in the world, they thought only of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans were ravaging Africa, and had advanced to the very gates of Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was more than twenty years before it.

At the same time, Carthage was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods; and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particu-

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Τῶν τίκτων καὶ γυναικῶν μέγας, some of their wives and children.—Diod. l. xvii.—xl.

larly with regard to two deities towards whom the Carthaginians had been remiss in the discharge of certain duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been observed with great exactness. It was a custom, coeval with the city itself, in Carthage, to send annually to Tyre, the mother city, the tenth of all the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both cities. The domain, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened, and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were seized with a scruple in this respect; they made an open and public confession of their insincerity and sacrilegious avarice; and, to expiate their guilt, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small shrines of their deities, all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman superstition seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no less uneasiness. Anciently, children of the best families in Carthage used to be sacrificed to Saturn. They now reproached themselves with having failed to pay to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and with having used fraud and dishonest dealing towards him, by having substituted, in their sacrifices, children of slaves or beggars, bought for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice was made to this bloodthirsty god of two hundred children of the first rank; and upwards of three hundred persons, from a sense of this terrible neglect, offered themselves voluntarily as victims to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After these expiations, expresses were despatched to Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and, at the same time to request immediate succours. Hamilcar, on receiving this disastrous intelligence, commanded the deputies to observe the strictest silence on the victory of Agathocles, and spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and in confirmation of this report, he showed the irons of the vessels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully sent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuse; the majority were for capitulating,<sup>1</sup> when a galley of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and, through great difficulties and dangers, forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles' victory immediately flew through the city, and restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but was beaten off with loss. He then raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. Some time after, having resumed the siege, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans, by attacking them in the night,<sup>2</sup> his design

<sup>1</sup> And the most forward of all the rest was Antander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his absence, who was so terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city surrendered, and expelled out of it eight thousand inhabitants, who were of a contrary opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. p. 767—769.



was discovered; and, falling alive into the enemy's hands, he was put to death with most exquisite tortures.<sup>1</sup> Hamilcar's head was sent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general consternation, by displaying to them the head of their general, which manifested the melancholy situation of their affairs in Sicily.

To these foreign enemies was joined a domestic one, which was more to be feared, as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar, their general, who was then in possession of the first post in Carthage.<sup>2</sup> He had long meditated how to make himself tyrant, and attain the sovereignty of Carthage, and imagined that the present troubles offered him the wished-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city, and being seconded by a small number of citizens, who were the accomplices of his rebellion, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant, and made himself literally such, by cutting the throats of all the citizens whom he met with in the streets. A tumult arising immediately in the city, it was at first thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar caused all this disturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged whole volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of his soldiers. When he saw an army marching in order against him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted; for he, notwithstanding the general indemnity promised by oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a cross, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from a rostrum, he harangued the people, and thought himself justly empowered to reproach them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he did by enumerating many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the cross while uttering these reproaches.<sup>3</sup>

Agathocles had won over to his interest a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas, whose ambition he had flattered with the most splendid hopes, by leading him to understand that, contenting himself with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa.<sup>4</sup> But as Agathocles did not scruple to commit the most horrid crimes to promote his ambition and interest, the credulous prince had no sooner put

<sup>1</sup> He was cruelly tortured till he died, and so met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army, and therefore the votes of the senate, whatever they were, being, according to custom, cast into a vessel, it was immediately closed, with an order not to uncover it till he was returned, and had thrown up his commission.—Justin. l. xxii. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. p. 779—781. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem incredible, that any man could so far triumph over the pains of the cross, as to talk with any coherence in his discourse, had not Seneca assured us, that some have so far despised and insulted its tortures, that they spit contemptuously upon the spectators. Quidam ex patibulo suos spectatores conspuerunt.—De Vita Beata, c. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. p. 777—779, 791—802. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

himself and his army in his power, than, by the blackest perfidy, he caused him to be murdered, in order that Ophellas' army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and several strongholds were garrisoned by his forces. As he now saw the affairs of Africa in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly, he sailed back thither, having left the command of his army to his son Archagathus. His renown, and the report of his victories flew before him.

On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had quite changed the face of things; and all his endeavours were incapable of restoring them to their former condition. All his strongholds had surrendered to the enemy; the Africans deserted him; some of his troops were lost, and the remainder were unable to make head against the Carthaginians; he had no way to transport them into Sicily, as he was destitute of ships; the enemy were masters at sea, and he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the barbarians, since he had insulted them in so outrageous a manner, by his being the first who had dared to make a descent on their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own safety.

After many adventures, this base deserter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which threatened him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few followers. His soldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendered to the enemy. Himself died miserably soon after, and ended, by a cruel death,<sup>1</sup> a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin.<sup>2</sup> The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear that he might think of turning his arms towards Africa.

The disastrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his services. The king received him graciously, and had several conferences with him. Hamilcar did not fail to transmit to his country whatever discoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's designs. Nevertheless, on his return to

<sup>1</sup> He was poisoned by one Mænon, whom he had unnaturally abused. His teeth were puffed by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he designed to defeat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death, he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable that Justin, or rather Trogus and Diodorus, disagree in all the material parts of this tyrant's history.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. l. xxi. c. 6.

Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was considered as a betrayer of his country to that prince, and accordingly was put to death by a sentence, which displayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

I am now to speak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were not unknown, to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his crossing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus.<sup>1</sup>

The foresight of the Romans was well founded: Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves obliged to assist the Romans, and accordingly sent them a fleet of sixscore sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the concern his superiors took in the war which they heard was carrying on against the Romans, and offered them their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at present thought fit to decline it.<sup>2</sup>

Mago, some days after, repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans, but in reality to sound him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade.<sup>3</sup> The Carthaginians were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And indeed the Syracusans, who had been besieged for some time by the Carthaginians, had sent pressing for succour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reason to espouse their interests, having married Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a son, named Alexander.

He at last sailed from Tarentum, passed the strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conquests at first were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lilybæum. He laid siege to it, but meeting with a vigorous resistance, was obliged to retire; and the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, turning his eyes back to Sicily, *What a fine field of battle,*<sup>4</sup> said he to those about him, *do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!*<sup>5</sup> His prediction was soon verified.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3727. A. Carth. 569. Rome, 471. Ant. J. C. 277. Polyb. l. iiii. p. 250. Ed. Gronov.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. l. xviii. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 393.

<sup>5</sup> *Ὅταν ἀπολείποντες τὸ φθλοῦ, Καρχηδόνιους καὶ Ῥωμαίους παλαίστρας.* The Greek expression is beautiful. Indeed, Sicily was a kind of Palæstra, where the Carthaginians and Romans exercised themselves in war, and for many years seemed to play the part of wrestlers with each other. The English language, as well as the French, has no word to express the Greek term.

After his departure, the chief magistracy of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens, so greatly had his government pleased. He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest reunited them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both; these were the Romans, who, having crushed all the enemies who had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power there, to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too commodious for them, not to form a resolution of establishing themselves in it. They therefore eagerly snatched this opportunity for crossing into it, which caused the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war. This I shall treat of more at large, by relating the causes of that war.



CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE, FROM THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO ITS DESTRUCTION.

THE plan which I have laid down does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage, since that relates rather to the Roman history, which I shall only transiently and occasionally touch upon. My business is to relate such facts only as may give the reader a just idea of the republic, whose history lies before me; by confining myself to those particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, such as their transactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa, which are sufficiently extensive.

I have already observed, that from the first Punic war to the ruin of Carthage, a hundred and eighteen years elapsed. This whole time may be divided into five parts or intervals.

|                                                                                                                           |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| I. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years. . . . .                                                                  | 24 |
| II. The interval between the first and second Punic war is }<br>also twenty-four years. . . . . }                         | 24 |
| III. The second Punic war took up seventeen years. . . . .                                                                | 17 |
| IV. The interval between the second and third, is forty-nine years.                                                       | 49 |
| V. The third Punic war, terminated by the destruction of Car- }<br>thage, continued but four years and some months. . . } | 4  |

ARTICLE I.—THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

THE first Punic war arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, they soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their

effects, and remained sole masters of that important city.<sup>1</sup> They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, became at last formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which, being very powerful, gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. After the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think it time to call their citizens to account, who had settled themselves, near two years, at Rhegium, in so cruel and treacherous a manner. Accordingly they took the city, and killed, in the attack, the greatest part of the inhabitants, who, armed with despair, had fought to the last gasp: three hundred only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses sustained from the Syracusans, who had lately placed Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their own safety. But divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, while the other called in the Romans to their assistance, and resolved to put them in possession of their city.

The affair was debated in the Roman senate, where, being considered in all its lights, it appeared to have some difficulties.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, it was thought base, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was exactly the same with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had recently punished with so exemplary a severity. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, who, not satisfied with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had also made themselves masters of almost all the islands of the Sardinian and Hetrurian seas; and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands, if they should be suffered to possess themselves of Messina. From thence into Italy the passage was very short; and it was in some manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave the entrance open. These reasons, though so strong, could not prevail with the senate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; and, accordingly, motives of honour and justice prevailed over those of interest and policy. But the people were not so scrupulous; for, in an assembly held on this subject, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted.<sup>3</sup> The consul Appius Claudius immediately set forward with his army, and boldly crossed the strait, after he had, by an ingenious stratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3724. A. Carth. 566. A. Rome, 468. Ant. J. C. 280. Polyb. l. i. p. 3. Edit. Gronov.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 12—15. Edit. Gronov.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3741. A. Carth. 583. A. Rome, 485. Ant. J. C. 623. Frontin.

The Carthaginians, partly by art and partly by force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was surrendered immediately to the consul. The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in so cowardly a manner, and prepared to besiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the consul having defeated them separately, raised the siege, and laid waste at pleasure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted, whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of strict justice.<sup>1</sup> Be this as it may, their passage into Sicily, and the succour they gave to the inhabitants of Messina, may be said to have been the first steps by which they ascended to that height of glory and grandeur they afterwards attained.

Hiero having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into an alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies into that island.<sup>2</sup> Agrigentum was their depot of arms, which, being attacked by the Romans, was won by them, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the advantage of this victory, and the conquest of so important a city, the Romans were sensible, that while the Carthaginians should continue masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always side with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily.<sup>4</sup> Besides, they saw with reluctance Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infested by the frequent incursions of its enemies. They now first formed the design of having a fleet, and of disputing the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance rash, but evinces the courage and grandeur of the Roman genius. The Romans were not then possessed of a single vessel, which they could call their own; and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were unexperienced in sea affairs, had no carpenters acquainted with the building of ships, and knew nothing of the shape of the quinqueremes, or galleys with five benches of oars, in which the chief strength of fleets at that time consisted; but happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coasts of Italy, which served them as a model. They therefore applied themselves with ardour and incredible industry to the building of ships in the same form; and in the meantime they got together a set of rowers, who were taught an exercise and discipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made, on the shore, in the same order and fashion with those of galleys. The rowers were seated on these benches, and taught, as if they had been furnished with oars, to throw themselves backwards with their arms drawn to their breasts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the instant their commanding officer gave

<sup>1</sup> The Chevalier Folard examines this question in his remarks upon Polybius, l. i. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 15—19.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3743. A. Rome, 487.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 20.

the signal. In two months, one hundred galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty galleys of three benches, were built; and after some time had been spent in exercising the rowers on ship-board, the fleet put to sea, and went in quest of the enemy. The consul Duillius had the command of it.

The Romans coming up with the Carthaginians near the coast of Myle, they prepared for an engagement.<sup>1</sup> As the Roman galleys, by their being clumsily and hastily built, were neither very nimble nor easy to work, this inconvenience was supplied by a machine invented for this occasion, and afterwards known by the name of the *Corvus*,<sup>2</sup> *crow* or *crane*, by help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty sail, under the command of Hannibal.<sup>3</sup> He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, highly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea-affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting, but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprised at the sight of the above-mentioned engines, raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which was entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw those engines drop down at once, and, being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grapple them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the action, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They soon were unable to sustain the attack of the Roman vessels, upon which a horrible slaughter ensued; and the Carthaginians lost fourscore vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping with difficulty in a small boat.

So considerable and unexpected a victory raised the courage of the Romans, and seemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were bestowed on the consul Duillius, who was the first Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him. Besides which, a rostral pillar was erected in his honour, with a noble inscription; which pillar is yet standing in Rome.<sup>4</sup>

During the two following years, the Romans grew insensibly stronger at sea, by their gaining several naval victories.<sup>5</sup> But these were considered by them only as essays preparatory to the great design they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to divert so dangerous a blow, they resolved to fight the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius, con-

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3745. .A. Rome, 489. Polyb. l. i. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> A different person from the great Hannibal.

<sup>4</sup> These pillars were called *rostratae*, from the beaks of ships with which they were adorned; *rostra*.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 24.

suls for this year.<sup>1</sup> Their fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty vessels, on board of which were one hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel having three hundred rowers, and a hundred and twenty soldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had twenty vessels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus, in Sicily. No man could behold two such formidable navies, or be a spectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under some concern, on seeing the danger which menaced two of the most powerful states in the world. As the courage on both sides was equal, and no great disparity in the forces, the fight was obstinate, and the victory long doubtful; but at last the Carthaginians were overcome. More than sixty of their ships were taken by the enemy, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost twenty-four, not one of which was taken by the Carthaginians.

The fruit of this victory, as the Romans had designed it, was their sailing to Africa, after having refitted their ships, and provided them with all necessaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country.<sup>2</sup> They landed happily in Africa, and began the war by taking a town called Clypea, which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they overran the open country, in which they made terrible havoc; bringing away whole flocks of cattle, and twenty thousand prisoners.

The express returned in the mean time with the orders of the senate; which were, that Regulus should continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of proconsul; and that his colleague should return with a great part of the fleet and the forces, leaving Regulus only forty vessels, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse.<sup>3</sup> Their leaving the latter with so few ships and troops, was a visible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from the descent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus; and their joy was universal, when it was known that he was continued in the command in Africa; but he alone was afflicted on that account.<sup>4</sup> When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and requested, in the strongest terms, that he might be allowed to resign. His chief reason was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds, having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage, his presence was necessary for taking care of his little spot of ground, — but seven acres, — which was all the property his family possessed. But the senate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expense, to maintain his wife and children, and to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the most rare and uncommon merit, and the highest employments of the state!

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3749. A. Rome, 494. Polyb. l. i. p. 24.  
A. M. 3750. A. Rome, 494.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.



Regulus, thus freed from his domestic cares, bent his whole thoughts on discharging the duties of a general.

After taking several castles, he laid siege to Adis, one of the strongest fortresses in the country.<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands at pleasure, at last took the field, and marched against them, to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying the enemy, but at the same time, by its situation, useless to one part of the army; for the strength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of descending from the hill, but taking advantage of this essential mistake of the Carthaginian generals, he fell upon them in this post; and, after meeting with a feeble resistance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent countries. Then, having taken Tunis,<sup>2</sup> an important city, and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmost alarm. All things had succeeded ill with them; their forces had been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of two hundred towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides, the Numidians made greater havoc in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital besieged. And their affliction was increased by the concourse of peasants, with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for safety; which gave them melancholy apprehensions of a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victories torn from him by a successor, made some proposal of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions appeared so hard they would not listen to them. As he did not doubt his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but, by an infatuation which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated them with haughtiness, and pretended, that every thing he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a favour, with this farther insult, *That they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor.*<sup>3</sup> So harsh and disdainful

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 31—36.

<sup>2</sup> In the interval between the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis, we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army with a serpent of so prodigious a size, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The story of this serpent was elegantly written by Livy, but it is now lost. Valerius Maximus, however, partly repairs that loss; and, in the last chapter of his first book, gives us this account of this monster from Livy himself. He (Livy) says, that on the banks of Bagrada, an African river, lay a serpent, of so enormous a size, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several soldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many pressed to death in the spiral volumes of its tail. Its skin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours that stones, slung from military engines, at last killed it. The serpent then exhibited a sight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions, than even Carthage itself. The streams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the stench of its putrid carcass infecting the adjacent country, the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its skin, one hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be seen, together with the jaw-bone of the same monster, in the temple where they were first deposited, as late as the Numantine war.

<sup>3</sup> *ὡς ἀγῶνός τε κέρως, ἢ δακτύλοισι βρεπόμενον.* Diod. Eclog. l. xxiii. c. 10.

a treatment only fired their resentment, and made them resolve rather to die sword in hand, than do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture, a reinforcement of auxiliary troops out of Greece, with Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learned the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request; had clearly discerned the occasion of its being lost, and perfectly informed himself of the strength of Carthage, he declared publicly, and repeated it often in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the public council: the members of it were struck with them, and they requested the favour of seeing and talking with him. He then corroborated his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed by the generals were visible to every one; and he proved as clearly to the council that, by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians; and Xanthippus was entreated, and in some measure forced, to accept the command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, perform all the evolutions and movements of the military art; they were struck with astonishment, and owned, that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one, were lost in admiration; and, what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no alloy to it; the fear of the present danger, and the love of their country, stifling, without doubt, all other sentiments. The gloomy consternation, which had before seized the whole army, was succeeded by joy and alacrity. The soldiers were urgent to be led against the enemy, in the firm assurance, as they said, of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the disgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not suffer their ardour to cool, and the sight of the enemy only inflamed it.

When he had approached within a little more than twelve hundred paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to show a respect to the Carthaginian generals by consulting them. All unanimously joined in opinion with him, upon which they resolved to give the enemy battle the following day.

The Carthaginian army was composed of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about a hundred elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may be guessed from what goes before,—for Polybius gives no determinate number,—consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

It must have been a noble sight to see two armies, not overcharged with numbers, but composed of brave soldiers, and commanded by very

able generals, engaged in battle. In those tumultuous fights, where two or three hundred thousand are engaged on both sides, confusion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidst a thousand events, where chance generally seems to have greater share than counsel to discover the true merit of commanders, and the real causes of victory. But in such engagements as this before us, nothing escapes the curiosity of the reader, for he clearly sees the disposition of the two armies, imagines he almost hears the orders given out by the generals, follows all the movements of the army, discovers plainly the faults on both sides, and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the causes to which the victory or defeat is owing. The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear, from the small number of the combatants, was nevertheless to decide the fate of Carthage.

The disposition of both armies was as follows. Xanthippus drew all his elephants in front. Behind these, at some distance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry, in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian service were posted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horse; and the other, composed of light-armed soldiers, in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

On the side of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants most, Regulus, to provide against them, posted his light-armed soldiers, on a line, in front of the legions. In the rear of these he placed the cohorts, one behind another, and the horse on the wings. In thus straitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a just precaution, says Polybius against the elephants, but he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the signal. Xanthippus ordered the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy; and commanded the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after the manner of their country, advanced against the enemy. Their cavalry did not stand the onset long, it being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry of the left wing, to avoid the attacks of the elephants, and show how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemy's right wing, attacks it, puts it to flight, and pursues it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were broken and trodden under foot, after fighting valiantly; and the rest of the main body stood firm for some time, by reason of its great depth. But the rear, being attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, and obliged to face about and receive it, and those who had broken through the elephants, met the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides, and entirely defeated. The greatest part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants; and the remainder, standing in their ranks, were shot through and through with the arrows from the enemy's horse. Only a small number fled, and, as they were in an open country, the horse and elephants killed a great part of them.

Five hundred, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken prisoners with him. The Carthaginians lost, in this battle, eight hundred mercenaries, who were opposed to the left wing of the Romans; and of the latter only two thousand escaped, who, by their pursuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement. All the rest, Regulus and those who were taken with him excepted, were left dead in the field. The two thousand who had escaped the slaughter retired to Clypea, and were saved in an almost miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having stripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus, and five hundred prisoners. Their joy was so much the greater, as, but a very few days before, they had seen themselves upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young, crowded the temples, to return thanks to the gods; and several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings.

Xanthippus, who had contributed so much to this happy change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might, after this first blaze, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are always dangerous, but most in a foreign country, when a man stands alone, unsupported by friends, relations, or any other succour.

Polybius tells us, that Xanthippus' departure was related in a different manner, and he promises to take notice of it in another place, but that part of his history has not come down to us. We read in Appian,<sup>1</sup> that the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and detestable jealousy of Xanthippus' glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they should stand indebted to Sparta for their safety, upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to his own country, with a numerous convoy of ships, gave private orders to have them all put to death in their passage; as if, with him, they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their horrid ingratitude to him.<sup>2</sup>

This battle, says Polybius,<sup>3</sup> though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, should any man promise himself permanent good fortune, after he has considered the fate of Regulus? That general, insolent

<sup>1</sup> De Bell. Pun. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> This perfidious action, as it is related by Appian, may possibly be true, when we consider the character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But if it be fact, one would wonder why Polybius should reserve for another occasion the relation of an incident, which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of Xanthippus. His silence, therefore, in this place, makes me think that he intended to bring Xanthippus again upon the stage, and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by Appian. To this let me add, that it showed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians, to take this method of despatching him, when so many others offered, which were less liable to censure. In this scheme formed for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers, were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian, to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.

Lib. i. p. 86, 87.

with victory, inexorable to the conquered, and deaf to all their remonstrances, saw himself a few days after vanquished by them, and made their prisoner. Hannibal suggested the same reflection to Scipio, when he exhorted him not to be dazzled with the success of his arms. Regulus, said he, would have been recorded among the few instances of valour and felicity, had he, after the victory obtained in this very country, granted our fathers the peace which they sued for. But, putting no bounds to his ambition and the insolence of success, the greater his prosperity, the more ignominious was his fall.<sup>1</sup>

In the second place, the truth of the saying of Euripides is here seen in its full extent, *That one wise head is worth a great many hands.*<sup>2</sup> A single man here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand, he defeats troops which were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city and an army, whom he had found in consternation and despair.

Such, as Polybius observes, is the use which ought to be made of the study of history. For, there being two ways of acquiring improvement and instruction, first, by one's own experience, and, secondly, by that of other men; it is much more wise and useful to improve by other men's miscarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finish what relates to him; Polybius, to our great disappointment, taking no farther notice of that general.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla, M. Atilius quondam in hæc eadem terrâ fuisse, si victor pacem potentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cobibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo fedius corruit.—Liv. l. xxx. n. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ως ἐν σοφῶν βόθλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικά. It may not be improper to take notice in this place, as it was forgotten before, of a mistake of the learned Casaubon, in his translation of a passage of Polybius, concerning Xanthippus. The passage is this: Ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἐάνθιππον τινα Λακωναῖον ἄνδρα τὸς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεχηράτα, καὶ τριβὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα εὐμύητον; which is thus rendered by Casaubon: In quibus [militibus sc. Græciæ allatis] Xanthippus quidam fuit Laeodæmonius, vir disciplina Laconicâ imbutus, et qui rei militaris usum mediocre habebat. Whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the sense of the passage to be, a man formed by the Spartan discipline, and proportionably [not moderately] skilled in military affairs.

<sup>3</sup> This silence of Polybius has prejudiced a great many learned men against many of the stories told of Regulus' barbarous treatment, after he was taken by the Carthaginians. Mr. Rollin speaks no farther of this matter, and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers, (as well historians as poets,) and of Appian, on this subject. First, it is urged that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent concerning Regulus after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is farther strengthened, say the adversaries of this belief, by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband at Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father, by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives, (thought to be Bostar and Hamilcar,) taken in the sea-fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regulus, and put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the senate, who detested the cruelty, survived, and was restored to health. This treatment of the captives, and the resentment of the senate on that account, form a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus argued:—Regulus dying in his captivity, by the usual course of nature, his wife, thus frustrated of her hopes of redeeming him by the exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmost barbarity, in consequence of her belief of the ill usage which Regulus had received. The senate being angry with her for it, to give some colour to her cruelties, she gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her husband died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports, increased gradually; and, from the national hatred between the Carthaginians and Romans, was easily and gene-

After being kept some years in prison, he was sent to Rome, to propose an exchange of prisoners.<sup>1</sup> He had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return, in case he proved unsuccessful. He then acquainted the senate with the subject of his voyage; and being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he answered that he could no longer do it as a senator, having lost both this quality and that of a Roman citizen, from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies; but he did not refuse to offer his thoughts as a private person. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He needed only, says Cicero, to have spoken one word, and it would have restored him to his liberty, his estate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country; but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and welfare of the state. He therefore plainly declared that an exchange of prisoners ought not to be so much as thought of; that such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic; that citizens, who had so basely surrendered their arms and persons to the enemy, were unworthy of the least compassion, and incapable of serving their country; that with regard to himself, as he was so far advanced in years, his death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals, in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great services for many years. It was with difficulty that the senate complied with so generous and unexampled a counsel.

The illustrious exile therefore left Rome, in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him.<sup>2</sup> And, indeed, the moment his enemies saw him returned without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dismal dungeon, whence, after cutting off his eyelids, they drew him at once into the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a kind of chest stuck full of nails, whose points, wounding him, did not allow him a moment's ease either day or night. Lastly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his merciless enemies nailed him to a cross, their usual punishment, and left him to expire on it. Such was the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of some days, perhaps years of life, brought eternal infamy on themselves.

The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not discourage them. They made greater preparations than before to recover their loss, and sent to sea, the following campaign, three hundred and sixty vessels.<sup>3</sup> The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with two hundred, but were beat in an engagement fought on the coast of Si-

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rally believed by the latter. How far this is conclusive against the testimonies of two such weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca, (to say nothing of the poets,) is left to the judgment of the reader.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3755. A. Rome, 499. Appian de Bello Pun. p. 2, 3. Cic. de Off. l. iii. n. 99, 100. Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 4. Senec. Ep. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Horat. l. iii. Od. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. viii. p. 37.

cily, and a hundred and fourteen of their ships were taken by the Romans. These sailed into Africa, to take in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus, and had defended themselves vigorously in Clupea,<sup>1</sup> where they had been unsuccessfully besieged.

Here again we are astonished that the Romans, after so considerable a victory, and with so large a fleet, should sail into Africa, only to bring from thence a small garrison; whereas they might have attempted the conquest of it, since Regulus, with much fewer forces, had almost completed it.

The Romans were overtaken by a storm in their return, which almost destroyed their whole fleet.<sup>2</sup> The like misfortune befell them also the following year.<sup>3</sup> However, they consoled themselves for this double loss, by a victory which they gained over Asdrubal, from whom they took near a hundred and forty elephants. This news being brought to Rome, it filled the whole city with joy, not only because the strength of the enemy's army was considerably diminished by the loss of their elephants, but chiefly because this victory had inspired the land forces with fresh courage, who, since the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement, so great was the terror with which those formidable animals had filled the minds of all the soldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls set sail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold design of besieging Lilybeum. This was the strongest town which the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily; and the loss of it would be attended with that of every part of the island, and open to the Romans a free passage into Africa.

The reader will suppose that the utmost ardour was shown both in the assault and defence of the place.<sup>4</sup> Imilcon was governor there, with ten thousand regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, soon brought him as many more from Carthage, he having, with the most intrepid courage, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port. The Romans had not lost any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down several towers with their battering-rams, and, gaining ground daily, they made such progress as gave the besieged, who were now closely pressed, some fears. The governor saw plainly that there was no other way left to save the city, but by firing the engines of the besiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enterprise, he sent them out at daybreak, with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combustible matters, and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans strove, with unparalleled bravery, to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, assailant as well as defendant, stood to his post, and chose to die rather than to quit it. At last, after a long resistance, and dreadful slaughter, the besieged sounded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. This scene being over, Hannibal, embarking in the night, and

<sup>1</sup> Or Clupea. <sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. vii. p. 38—40. <sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. vii. p. 41, 42. <sup>4</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 44—50.

concealing his departure from the enemy, sailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageously situated, having a commodious port, and lying about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Lilybæum; and was of so much consequence to the Carthaginians, that they had been always very desirous of preserving it.

The Romans, animated by their late success, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever, the besieged not daring to venture a second time to burn their machines, because of the ill success they had met with, in their first attempt. But a furious wind rising suddenly, some mercenary soldiers represented to the governor, that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers, especially as the wind blew full against them, and they offered themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furnished with every thing necessary. In a moment the fire caught on all the engines, and the Romans could not possibly extinguish it, because the flames being instantly spread every where, the wind carried the sparks and smoke into their eyes, so that they could not see where to apply relief, whereas their enemies saw clearly where to aim their strokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans lose all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the siege into a blockade, raised a line of contravallation round the town, and, dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect by time, what they found themselves absolutely unable to perform in any other way.

When the transactions of the siege of Lilybæum, and the loss of part of the forces, were known at Rome, the citizens, so far from desponding at this ill news, seemed to be fired with new vigour.<sup>1</sup> Every man strove to be foremost in the muster-roll; so that, in a very little time, an army of ten thousand men was raised, who, crossing the strait, marched by land to join the besiegers.

At the same time, P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum.<sup>2</sup> He thought himself sure of surprising him, because, after the loss lately sustained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine that they would venture out again at sea. Flushed with these hopes, he sailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his design. But he had to do with an active general, whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him, while his fleet was in disorder and confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty vessels got off, which being in company with the consul, fled with him, and got away in the best manner they could, along the coast. All the rest, amounting to four-score and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians; a few soldiers excepted, who had escaped from the shipwreck of their vessels. This victory displayed as much the prudence and valour of Adherbal, as it reflected shame and ignominy on the Roman consul.

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. lib. 1. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3756. A. Rome, 500. Polyb. l. 1. p. 51.



Junius,<sup>1</sup> his colleague, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himself, but lost almost his whole fleet, by his ill conduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some considerable action, he held a secret correspondence with the inhabitants of Eryx,<sup>2</sup> and by that means got the city surrendered to him. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, which was certainly the most beautiful, as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the road that led to it was very long, and of difficult access. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he now had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the enemy, and there fortified himself. From this advantageous post, he harassed the Romans incessantly for two years. One can scarce conceive how it was possible for the Carthaginians to defend themselves, when thus attacked from both the summit and foot of the mountain, and unable to get provisions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By such enterprises as these, the abilities and prudent courage of a general are as well, or perhaps better discovered, than by the winning of a battle.

For five years, nothing memorable was performed on either side.<sup>3</sup> The Romans were once of opinion, that their land forces would alone be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum: but the war being protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their first plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by private purses, so ardent was the love which the Romans bore to the country. Every man according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expense; and upon public security, advanced money, without the least scruple, for an expedition on which the glory and safety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ship at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; so that in a very little time, two hundred were ready for sailing. The command was given to Lutatius the consul, who immediately put to sea.<sup>4</sup> The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa, by which means the consul easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum: and foreseeing that he should soon be forced to fight, he did all that lay in his power to assure himself of success, and employed the interval in exercising his soldiers and seamen at sea.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera, opposite to Drepanum. His design was to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, in order to supply the army there; to reinforce his troops and take Barcha on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul, suspecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having assembled all his best forces, sailed for

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 54—59.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 59—62.

<sup>3</sup> A city and mountain of Sicily.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3763. A. Rome, 507.

the small island Ægusa,<sup>1</sup> which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow. Accordingly, at day-break, he prepared to engage; unfortunately the wind was favourable for the enemy, which made him hesitate whether he should give them battle. But considering that the Carthaginian fleet, when unloaded of its provisions, would become lighter and more fit for action, and besides would be considerably strengthened by the forces and presence of Barcha, he came to a resolution at once; and, notwithstanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The consul had choice forces, able seamen, and excellent ships, built after the model of a galley that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the most complete of its kind that had ever been seen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were destitute of all these advantages. As they had been the entire masters at sea for some years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they had them in the highest contempt, and looked upon themselves as invincible. On the first report of the enemy being in motion, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, as appeared from every circumstance of it: the soldiers and seamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the least experience, resolution, or zeal, since it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This soon appeared in the engagement. They could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with their whole crews. The rest, favoured by a wind which rose very seasonably for them, made the best of their way to the little island from whence they had sailed. There were upwards of ten thousand taken prisoners. The consuls ailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned so much the greater surprise and terror, as it was less expected. The senate, however, did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was impossible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions or reinforcements to the armies in Sicily. An express was therefore immediately despatched to Barcha, the general there, empowering him to act as he should think proper. Barcha, so long as he had room to entertain the least hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, says Polybius, consists in knowing how to resist or to yield at a seasonable conjuncture. Lutatius was not insensible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhausted them both of men and money; and the dreadful consequences which had attended on the inexorable and imprudent obstinacy of Regulus was fresh in his memory. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:

*“There shall be peace between Rome and Carthage (in case the Roman people approve of it,) on the following conditions: The*

<sup>1</sup> They are now called Ægates.

*Carthaginians shall entirely evacuate all Sicily; shall no longer make war upon Hiero, the Syracusans, or their allies; they shall restore to the Romans without ransom, all the prisoners which they have taken from them; and pay them, within twenty years, two thousand two hundred Euboic talents of silver.*"<sup>1</sup> It is worth the reader's remarking, by the way, the simple, exact, and clear terms in which this treaty is expressed: that, in so short a compass, adjusts the interests, both by sea and land, of two powerful republics and their allies.

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, not approving of them, sent ten commissioners to Scicily, to terminate the affair. These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty; only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years: a thousand talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which was to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart from all the islands situated between Italy and Sicily.<sup>2</sup> Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty, but they gave it up by another treaty some years after.

Such was the conclusion of this war, the longest mentioned in history, since it continued twenty-four years without intermission.<sup>3</sup> The obstinacy, in disputing for empire, was equal on either side; the same resolution, the same greatness of soul, in forming as well as in executing projects, being conspicuous on both sides. The Carthaginians had the superiority with regard to experience in naval affairs: in the strength and swiftness of their vessels; the working of them; the skill and capacity of the pilots; the knowledge of coasts, shallows, roads, and winds; and in the inexhaustible fund of wealth, which furnished all the expenses of so long and obstinate a war. The Romans had none of these advantages; but their courage, zeal for the public good, love of their country, and a noble emulation of glory, supplied all other deficiencies. We are astonished to see a nation, so raw, and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only disputing the sea with a people who were best skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before; but even gaining several victories over them at sea. No difficulties or calamities could discourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumstances under which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign dispirits the next; whereas the Romans were not shaken by a succession of them.

As to the soldiers there was no comparison between those of Rome and of Carthage, the former being infinitely superior in point of courage; among the generals who commanded in this war, Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was doubtless the most conspicuous for his bravery and prudence.

<sup>1</sup> This sum amounts to near six millions one hundred and eighty thousand French livres, or \$2,286,000.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb, l. iii. p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3736. A. Carth. 665. A. Roma. 507. Ant. J. C. 241

## THE LIBYAN WAR, OR WAR AGAINST THE MERCENARIES.

THE war which the Carthaginians waged against the Romans was succeeded immediately by another.<sup>1</sup> The very same year,<sup>2</sup> which, though of much shorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heart of the republic, and attended with such cruelty and barbarity, as scarcely to be paralleled in history; I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to sustain against their mercenary troops, who had served under them in Sicily, and commonly called the African or Libyan war.<sup>3</sup> It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The only occasion of it was this:

As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission, and left to Gisco, governor of the place, the care of transporting these forces into Africa.<sup>4</sup> Gisco, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them all off at once, but in small and separate parties; in order that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home, before the arrival of the rest. This conduct evinced great forecast and wisdom, but was not seconded equally at Carthage. As the republic had been exhausted by the expense of a long war, and the payment of nearly three millions of French livres to the Romans on signing the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from them, when they should be all together, a remission of some part of their arrears. This was the first oversight.

Here we discover the genius of a state composed of merchants, who know the full value of money, but do not estimate sufficiently the merit of soldiers; who bargain for blood as if it were an article of trade, and always go to the cheapest market. In such a republic, when an exigency is once answered, the merit of services is no longer remembered.

These soldiers, most of whom came to Carthage, being long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which, it was proposed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till the arrival of the rest of their companions; and that then they should all be paid off, and sent home. This was a second oversight.

A third was, the refusing to let them leave their baggage, their wives and children, in Carthage, as they desired, and the forcing them to remove these to Sicca; whereas, had they staid in Carthage, they would have been in a manner so many hostages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began, having nothing else to do, to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made much more than was really due to them. To this computation they added the

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 65—89.

<sup>2</sup> The same year that the first Punic war ended.

<sup>3</sup> And sometimes *Carthage*, or the war with the mercenaries.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 66.

mighty promises which had been made to them, at different times, as an encouragement for them to do their duty; and pretended that these likewise ought to be placed to account. Hanno, who was then governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to these soldiers some remission of their arrears; and desired that they would content themselves with receiving a part in consideration of the great distress to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its present unhappy circumstances. The reader will easily guess how such a proposal was received. Complaints, murmurs, seditious and insolent clamours, were every where heard. These troops being composed of different nations, who were strangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reason when they once mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians, inhabitants of the Balearic isles, Greeks, the greatest part of them slaves or deserters, and a very great number of Africans, composed these mercenary forces. Transported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage, being upwards of twenty thousand, and encamp at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians too late discovered their error. There was no compliance, how grovelling soever, to which they did not stoop, to soothe these exasperated soldiers; who on their side practised every knavish art which could be thought of, in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some new demand. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them, they still would be reimbursed for the losses which they pretended to have sustained, either by the death of horses, or by the excessive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and still insisted on the recompense which had been promised them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly, they pitched upon Gisco, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service; the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and granted almost all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of these was Spendius, a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was tall, stout, and bold. The fear he was under of falling into the hands of his old master, by whom he was sure to be hanged, as was the custom, prompted him to break off the accommodation. He was seconded by one Matho,<sup>1</sup> who had been very active in forming the conspiracy. These two represented to the

<sup>1</sup> Matho was an African, and free-born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He therefore, despairing of a pardon, embraced the interest of Spendius with more zeal than any of the rebels; and first insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a peace, as this would leave them alone, and exposed to the rage of their old masters.—Polyb. p. 98. Edit. Grenov.

Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This was sufficient to raise them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their chiefs. No remonstrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any, was immediately put to death. They ran to Gisco's tent, plundered it of the money designed for the payment of the forces; dragged even that general himself to prison, with all his attendants, after having treated them with the utmost indignities. All the cities of Africa to whom they had sent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which they therefore besieged.

Carthage had never before been exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens of it, to a man, drew their particular subsistence from the rents and revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid from Africa. But all this was stopped at once, and, a much worse circumstance, was turned against them. They found themselves destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations either for the sustaining of a siege or the equipping of a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign assistance, either from their friends or allies.

They might in some sense accuse themselves for the distress to which they were reduced. During the last war, they had treated the African nations with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, in the exaction of which, no allowance was made for poverty and extreme misery; and governors, such as Hanno, were treated with the greater respect, the more severe they had been in levying those tributes. So that these Africans were easily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men, and with pleasure gave up all their ornaments towards the expenses of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves still in the midst of plenty. An instructive lesson, says Polybius, to ministers; as it teaches them to look, not only to the present occasion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their present distress, did not despond, but made the most extraordinary efforts for their defence. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and sea, horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered, mercenaries were invited from all parts, and all the ships which the republic had left were refitted.

The rebels discovered no less ardour. We related before, that they had besieged two cities which refused to join them. Their army was now increased to seventy thousand men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on these sieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, filling it with

perpetual alarms, and frequently advancing up to its very walls, by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of it, might have proved decisive: but entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who were posted on a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them, found the soldiers every where off their duty, took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all their provisions, &c. brought from Carthage to succour the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, on such occasions, are by much the most fatal. Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was therefore appointed to succeed him. This general answered the idea which had been entertained of him; and his first success was in obliging the rebels to raise the siege of Utica. He then marched against their army, which was encamped near Carthage, defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts. These successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who, out of his esteem for the person and merit of Barcha, joined him with two thousand Numidians, was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had enclosed him in a valley, killed ten thousand of them, and took four thousand prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this battle. Barcha received among his troops as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never take up arms again against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every man of them who was taken should be put to death. This conduct proves the wisdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme severity. And indeed, where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greatest part of whom were drawn in by the persuasion of the most hot-headed, or through fear of the most furious, clemency seldom fails of being successful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this affected lenity of Barcha might occasion a defection among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it would be, to put them upon some signal action, in order to deprive them of all hopes of being ever reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him of a secret design, concerted between some of their comrades and Gisco, for the rescuing him out of prison, where he had been so long detained, he brought them to the barbarous resolution of murdering him and all the rest of the prisoners; and any man who durst offer any milder counsel was immediately sacrificed to their fury. Accordingly this unfortunate general, and seven hundred prisoners, who were confined with him, were brought out to the head of the camp, where Gisco fell the first sacrifice, and afterwards all the rest. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broke, and their bodies, still breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their

remains, in order to pay them the last sad office, but were refused; and the herald was further told, that whoever presumed to come upon the like errand, should meet with Gisco's fate. And indeed the rebels immediately came to this unanimous resolution, viz. to treat all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and decreed further, that if any of their allies were taken, they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage. This bloody resolution was but too strictly executed.

The Carthaginians were now just beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their spirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals: and the provisions, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea, were all cast away in a storm. But their most grievous misfortune was, the sudden defection of the two only cities which till then had preserved their allegiance, and in all times adhered inviolably to the commonwealth. These were Utica and Hippacra. These cities, without the least reason, or even so much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels, and, transported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governor, with the garrison sent to their relief; and carried their inhumanity so far, as to refuse their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them for burial.

The rebels, animated by so much success, laid siege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raise it. They nevertheless continued the war. Having drawn together into one body all their own troops and those of the allies, making upwards of fifty thousand men in all, they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully kept their own on the hills, and avoided coming down into the plains, because the enemy would there have been so much superior to them on account of their elephants and horses. Hamilcar, more skilful in the art of war than they, never exposed himself to any of their attacks; but, taking advantage of their oversight, often dispossessed them of their posts, if their soldiers straggled ever so little, and harassed them a thousand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands were thrown to wild beasts. At last, he surprised them at a time when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and entrenchments. But an enemy within themselves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greatest extremity; this was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last ate one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus avenging upon themselves the barbarous cruelty they had exercised on others. They now had no resource left, and knew but too well the punishments which would be inflicted on them, in case they should fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After such bloody scenes as had been acted by them, they did not so much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had sent to their forces, encamped at Tunis, for assistance, but with no success. In the mean time the famine increased daily. They had first eaten their prisoners, then their slaves, and now, their fellow-citizens only were left to be devoured. Their chiefs,



no longer able to resist the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatened to cut all their throats if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels, to treat them as they should think fit, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. When the treaty was signed, the chiefs themselves were arrested, and detained by the Carthaginians, who plainly showed, on this occasion, that they were not over-scrupulous in point of honesty. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were seized, and knowing nothing of the convention, suspected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having surrounded them, brought forward his elephants, and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of forty thousand.

The consequence of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which, ever since the beginning of the war, had been the asylum of the rebels, and their deposit of arms. He invested it on one side, while Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be set up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been seized with him on the rest, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, saw plainly by this what he himself might expect, and for that reason was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of success, was very negligent in all things, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp.

Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments, and sacrificed round the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first rank in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude that there had been a mutual emulation between the contending parties, which of them should outdo the other in acts of the most barbarous cruelty.

Barcha being at a distance from his colleague, it was some time before his misfortune reached him; and, besides, the road lying between the two camps being impracticable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. This unlucky accident caused a great consternation in Carthage. The reader may have observed, in the course of this war, a continual vicissitude of prosperity and adversity, of security and fear, of joy and grief; so various and inconstant were the events on either side.

In Carthage it was thought advisable to make one bold effort. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar, and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals, in the name of the republic, to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentments to their country's

welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled sincerely to one another.

From this time the Carthaginians were uniformly successful; and Matho, who, in every succeeding attempt, came off with disadvantage, at last thought himself obliged to hazard a battle; this was just what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement ensued. Victory was not long in suspense, for the rebels every where giving ground, nearly all the Africans were slain, and the rest surrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; they were however soon forced to surrender at discretion.

The victorious army now returned to Carthage, and was there received with shouts of joy, and the congratulations of the whole city. Matho and his soldiers, after having adorned the public triumph, were led to execution, and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackest treasons, and unparalleled barbarities. Such was the conclusion of the war against the mercenaries, after having lasted three years and four months. It furnished, says Polybius, an ever-memorable lesson to all nations not to employ in their armies a greater number of mercenaries than citizens; nor to rely, for the defence of their state, on a body of men who are not attached to it, either by interest or affection.

I have hitherto purposely deferred taking notice of such transactions in Sardinia, as passed at the time that I have been speaking of, and which were, in some measure, dependent on, and resulting from, the war waged in Africa against the mercenaries. They exhibit the same violent methods to promote rebellion, the same excesses of cruelty, as if the wind had carried the same spirit of discord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island also shook off the yoke, in imitation of those incendiaries. They began by the murder of Bostar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent, but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels, hung the general on a cross, and, throughout the whole island, put all the Carthaginians to the sword, after having made them suffer inexpressible torments. They then besieged all the cities one after another, and soon got possession of the whole country. But feuds arising between them and the natives, the mercenaries were driven entirely out of the island, and took refuge in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, an island of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever since their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved toward them with great justice and moderation. A slight quarrel, on account of some Roman merchants who were seized at Carthage for their having supplied the enemy with provisions, had embroiled them a little. But these merchants being restored on the

first complaint made to the senate of Carthage, the Romans, who prided themselves upon their justice and generosity on all occasions, made the Carthaginians a return of their former friendship; served them to the utmost of their power, forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions, and even refused to listen to proposals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take possession of the island.

But these scruples and delicacy wore off by degrees, and Cæsar's advantageous testimony, in Sallust, of their honesty and plain dealing, could not, with any propriety, be applied here: "although," says he, "in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never (however inviting the opportunity might be) be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage, being more attentive to their own glory, than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies."<sup>1</sup>

The mercenaries, who, as was observed, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at last to the resolution of sailing over into Sardinia, to render themselves masters of it.<sup>2</sup> The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at the news, under the idea that they had a more just title to Sardinia than the Romans; they therefore put themselves in a posture to take a speedy and just revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. But the Romans, pretending that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia, but their state, declared war against the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhausted in every respect, and scarcely beginning to breathe, were in no condition to sustain a war. The necessity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A fresh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of twelve hundred talents, to avoid the war with which they were menaced. This injustice of the Romans was the true cause of the second Punic war, as will appear in the sequel.

#### ARTICLE II.—THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

THE second Punic war, which I am about to relate, is one of the most memorable recorded in history, and most worthy of the attention of an inquisitive reader: whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the wisdom employed in the execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their lowest ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain issue of so long and bloody a war; or lastly, the assemblage of the most perfect examples of every kind of merit, and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, either with regard to war, policy, or government.<sup>3</sup> Never did two more powerful, or at least more warlike states or nations, make war against each other, and

<sup>1</sup> *Bellis Punicis omnibus, cum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace et per inducias multa nefanda facinora eissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis quod se dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure eri posset, quærebant.*—Sallust. in *Bell. Catilin.*

<sup>2</sup> *A. M. 3767. A. Carth. 609. A. Rome, 511. Ant. J. C. 287.*

<sup>3</sup> *Liv. l. xxi. n. 3.*

never had these in question seen themselves raised to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtless, at that time, the two first states of the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been most in danger of ruin. Great as the forces of these two nations were, it may almost be said, that their mutual hatred was still greater. The Romans, on one side, could not without indignation see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the equally rapacious and harsh treatment which they pretended to have received from the victor.

The plan which I have laid down does not permit me to enter into a minute detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, were the several seats, and which has a still closer connexion with the Roman history than with that I am now writing. I shall confine myself, therefore, principally to such transactions as relate to the Carthaginians, and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greatest warrior of antiquity.

#### THE REMOTE AND MORE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

BEFORE I come to speak of the declaration of war between the Romans and Carthaginians, I think it necessary to explain the true causes of it, and to point out by what steps the rupture between these two nations was so long preparing, before it openly broke out.

That man would be grossly mistaken, says Polybius,<sup>1</sup> who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians, for having so tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war, the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage of the troubles excited in Africa, to dispossess the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and to impose a new tribute on them, and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain, were the true causes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy, agreeing herein with Polybius, insinuates in few words, in the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.<sup>2</sup>

And indeed Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was highly exasperated on account of the last treaty which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit to, and therefore meditated the design of taking just, though distant measures, for breaking it, the first favourable opportunity that should offer.<sup>3</sup>

When the troubles of Africa were appeased, he was sent upon an expedition against the Numidians; in which, giving fresh proofs of his

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. p. 162-168.

<sup>2</sup> *Angebant ingentes spiritus virum, Sicilia Sardiniaque amissa: Nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperationem rerum concessam; et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam superimposito, interceptam.*—Livy. l. xli. a. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. ii. p. 96

courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. Hannibal his son, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmost importunity to attend him on this occasion; and for that purpose employed all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a tender father.<sup>1</sup> Hamilcar could not refuse him; and after having made him swear upon the altars, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans as soon as his age would allow him to do it, took his son with him.

Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added a most popular and insinuating behaviour. He subdued, in a very short time, the greatest part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct; and, after enjoying the command there nine years, came to an end worthy of his exalted character, by dying gloriously in arms for the cause of his country.

The Carthaginians appointed Asdrubal, his son-in-law, to succeed him.<sup>2</sup> This general, to secure the country, built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbour, its fortifications, and opulence occasioned by its great commerce, became one of the most considerable cities in the world. It was called New Carthage, and to this day is known by the name of Carthagena.

From the several steps of these two great generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some mighty design, which they had always in view, and laid their schemes at a great distance for putting it in execution. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, at a time when the enemy were rapidly pursuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very well pleased to attack them by open force, and to wrest their conquests out of their hands; but the fear of another not less formidable enemy, the Gauls, kept them from showing their resentments. They therefore had recourse to negotiation; and concluded a treaty with Asdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conquests beyond the Iberus.

Asdrubal, in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests, but took care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty; and sparing no endeavours to win the chiefs of the several nations by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he brought them over to the interest of Carthage, more by persuasive methods than force of arms.<sup>3</sup> But unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took so barbarous a revenge for a private enmity he bore him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 127. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.    <sup>2</sup> A. M. 3776. A. Rome, 520. Polyb. l. ii. p. 161

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. ii. p. 123. Liv. l. xxi. n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whose master had fallen by the hand of Asdrubal. It was perpetrated in public; and the murderer being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a satisfaction in the thoughts of

Three years before his death, he had written to Carthage, to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him.<sup>1</sup> The proposal met with some difficulty, as the senate was divided between two powerful factions, which, from Hamilcar's time, had begun to follow opposite views in the administration and affairs of the state. One faction was headed by Hanno, whose birth, merit, and zeal for the public welfare, gave him great influence in the public deliberations. This faction proposed, on every occasion, the concluding of a safe peace, and the preserving the conquests in Spain, as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expensive war, which they foresaw would one day occasion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, because it supported the interests of Barcha and his family, had, to its ancient merit and credit in the city, added the reputation which the signal exploits of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had given it, and declared openly for war. When, therefore, Asdrubal's demand came to be debated in the senate, Hanno represented the danger of sending so early into the field a young man, who had all the haughtiness and imperious temper of his father; and who ought, therefore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully, under the eye of the magistrates, and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modesty which should teach him not to think himself superior to all other men. He concluded with saying, that he feared this spark, which was then kindling, would one day rise to a conflagration. His remonstrances were not heard, so that the Barcinian faction had the superiority, and Hannibal set out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw his father Hamilcar revive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial vigour displayed itself in the air of his countenance, with the same features and engaging deportment. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and, a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition and cast of mind were so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearer to the soldiers or the generals. He served three campaigns under Asdrubal.

Upon the death of that general, the suffrages of both the army and people concurred in raising Hannibal to the supreme command.<sup>2</sup> I know not whether it was not even then, or about that time, that the republic, to heighten his influence and authority, appointed him one of its *suffetes*, the first dignity of the state, which was sometimes conferred on generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos<sup>3</sup> that we have borrowed this circumstance of his life, who, speaking of the prætorship bestowed on Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage, and the conclu-

his having executed his revenge so successfully, that he seemed to laugh at the pain of his torments. *Et fuit habitu oris, ut superante lætitiâ dolores, ridentis etiam speciem præbuerit.* — Liv. l. xxi. n. 1. <sup>1</sup> A. M. 3783. A. Rome, 530. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3784. A. Carth. 626. A. Rome, 528. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178, 179. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3—5. <sup>3</sup> In Vit. Annib. c. 7.

sion of the peace, says, that this was twenty-two years after he had been nominated king.<sup>1</sup>

The moment he was created general, Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he was even then appointed to make war upon the Romans, secretly turned his whole views on that side, and lost no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took several strong towns, and conquered many nations; and although the Spaniards greatly exceeded him in the number of forces, their army amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand men, yet he chose his time and posts so judiciously, that he entirely defeated them. After this victory every thing submitted to his arms. But he still forebore laying siege to Saguntum,<sup>2</sup> carefully avoiding every occasion of a rupture with the Romans, till he should be furnished with all things necessary for so important an enterprise, pursuant to the advice given by his father. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generously allotting them a large share of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by scrupulously paying them all their arrears:<sup>3</sup> a wise step, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper season.

The Saguntines, on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, informed the Romans of the progress of Hannibal's conquests.<sup>4</sup> Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and examine the state of affairs upon the spot; they were also to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, they should then go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, promising himself great advantages from the taking of this city. He was persuaded, that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying their war into Spain; that this new conquest would secure those he had already made; that as no enemy would be left behind him, his march would be more secure and unmolested; that he should find money enough in it for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him more cheerfully; that, lastly, the spoils which he should send to Carthage, would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with the utmost vigour. He himself set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

News was soon carried to Rome that Saguntum was besieged. But the Romans, instead of flying to its relief, lost their time in fruitless debates, and equally insignificant deputations. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leisure to hear them; they

<sup>1</sup> *Hic ut rediit prætor factus est, postquam rex fuerat anno secundo et vigesimo.*

<sup>2</sup> This city lay on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, very near the mouth of that river, and in a country where the Carthaginians were allowed to make war; but Saguntum, as an ally of the Romans, was excepted from all hostilities, by virtue of the late treaty.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibi largè partiendo prædam, stipendia præterita cum fide exsolvendo, cunctos civium auctorumque, animos in se firmavit.*—Liv. l. xxi. n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 170, 171. Liv. l. xxi. n. 6—15.

therefore repaired to Carthage, but met with no better reception, the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaints of the Romans, and all the remonstrances of Hanno.

During all these voyages and negotiations, the siege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntines were now reduced to the last extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon proposed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh, that the Saguntines could not prevail upon themselves to accept them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards rushed headlong into it themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been long assaulted by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But, notwithstanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils gained by his victories, but applied them solely to carrying on his enterprises. Accordingly Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of service to him, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, by the sight of the rich booty which they had just obtained, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled all the principal persons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large presents he made to them out of the spoils.

Words could never express the grief and consternation with which the melancholy news of the capture and the cruel fate of Saguntum was received at Rome.<sup>1</sup> Compassion for this unfortunate city; shame for having failed to succour such faithful allies; a just indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of all these calamities; a strong alarm raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they saw already at their gates; all these sentiments caused so violent an emotion, that, during the first moments of their agitation, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution, or do anything, but give way to the torrent of their passion, and sacrificed floods of tears to the memory of a city, which fell the victim of its inviolable fidelity<sup>2</sup> to the Romans, and had been betrayed by their unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was unanimously decreed against the Carthaginians.

#### WAR PROCLAIMED.

THAT no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by order of the republic, and if so, to declare war;<sup>3</sup> or, in case this siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he should be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving that the senate gave no direct answer to their demands, one of them, taking up the fold of his robe, *I bring here*, says he, in a haughty

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. p. 174, 175. Lib. l. xxi. n. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Sanctitate disciplinæ, quæ fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 18, 19



tone, *either peace or war; the choice is left to yourselves.* The senate answering, that they left the choice to him, *I give you war then,* says he, unfolding his robe: *and we,* replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, *as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness.* Such was the beginning of the second Punic war.

If the cause of this war should be ascribed to the taking of Saguntum,<sup>1</sup> the whole blame, says Polybius, lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, besiege a city that was in alliance with Rome, and, as such, comprehended in the treaty, which forbade either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But, should the origin of this war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were dispossessed of Sardinia by the Romans, and a new tribute was so unreasonably imposed on them; it must be confessed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjustifiable on these two points, as being founded merely on violence and injustice; and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourse to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded satisfaction upon these two grievances, and upon their being refused it, had declared war against Rome, in that case reason and justice had been entirely on their side.

The interval between the conclusion of the first, and the beginning of the second Punic war, was twenty-four years.

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

WHEN war was resolved upon and proclaimed on both sides, Hannibal, who was then twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, before he discovered his grand design, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa.<sup>2</sup> With this view, he marched the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a persuasion, that these soldiers, being thus at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service, and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hostages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about forty thousand men, twelve hundred whereof were cavalry; those of Spain were somewhat more than fifteen thousand, of which two thousand five hundred and fifty were cavalry. He left the command of the Spanish forces to his brother Asdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coast; and at the same time gave him the wisest counsel for his conduct, both with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in case they should attack him.

Livy observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge his vows made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was entering upon. Polybius gives us, in few words, a very clear idea of the distance of the several places through which Hannibal was to march in his way to Italy.<sup>3</sup> From New Carthage,<sup>4</sup> whence

Polyb. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3787. A. Carth. 629. A. Rome, 531. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. iii. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 21, 22

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 192, 193.

<sup>3</sup> Two hundred and seventy-five miles.

he set out to the Iberus, was computed two thousand two hundred furlongs.<sup>1</sup> From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separates Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo,<sup>2</sup> was sixteen hundred furlongs.<sup>3</sup> From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like distance of sixteen hundred furlongs.<sup>4</sup> From the pass of the Rhone to the Alps fourteen hundred furlongs.<sup>5</sup> From the Alps to the plains of Italy, twelve hundred furlongs.<sup>6</sup> Thus, from New Carthage to the plains of Italy, were eight thousand furlongs.<sup>7</sup>

Hannibal had, long before, taken all proper measures to discover the nature and situation of the places through which he was to pass;<sup>8</sup> to know how the Gauls were affected to the Romans; to win over their chiefs, whom he knew to be very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them;<sup>9</sup> and to secure to himself the affection and fidelity of a part of the nations through whose country he was to march. He was not ignorant, that the passage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties, but he knew they were not insurmountable, and that was enough for his purpose.

Hannibal began his march early in the spring, from New Carthage, where he had wintered.<sup>10</sup> His army then consisted of more than a hundred thousand men, of which twelve thousand were cavalry, and he had nearly forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march, but lost a considerable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with eleven thousand men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those who were to follow him. He dismissed the like number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits, and assuring the rest that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse; a formidable army, but less so from the number, than from the valour of the troops that composed it; troops who had served several years in Spain, and learned the art of war, under the ablest captains that Carthage could ever boast.

#### PASSAGE OF THE RHONE

HANNIBAL<sup>11</sup> being arrived within about four days march from the mouth of the Rhone,<sup>12</sup> attempted to cross it, because the river, at this place, took up only the breadth of its channel. He brought up all

<sup>1</sup> Polybius makes the distance from New Carthage to be 2600 furlongs; consequently the whole number of furlongs will be 8400, or, allowing 625 feet to the furlong, 994 English miles, and almost one third.—See Polyb. Edit. Gronov. p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 199.   <sup>3</sup> 200 miles.   <sup>4</sup> 200 miles.   <sup>5</sup> 175 miles.   <sup>6</sup> 150 miles.

<sup>7</sup> 1000 miles.   <sup>8</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 189.   <sup>9</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 190.   Liv. l. xxi. n. 22—24.

<sup>10</sup> Audierunt præoccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, ni subinde suro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi conciliantur.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 270—274.   Edit. Gronov.   Liv. l. xxi. n. 26—28.

<sup>12</sup> A little above Avignon.

the ship boats and small vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number, because of their commerce. He likewise built with great diligence a prodigious number of boats, small vessels, and rafts. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of his attacking them in front. He therefore ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to pass the river higher up; and, in order to conceal his march, and the design he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things succeeded as he desired; and the river was passed the next day without the least opposition.<sup>1</sup>

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night they advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely harnessed, were put into boats, that their riders might, on their landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which one single man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry crossed the river, either on rafts, or in small boats, and in a kind of gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees they themselves had made hollow. The large boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage of the rest of the fleet. When the Gauls saw it advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, broke into dreadful cries and howlings, and, clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against the other, let fly a shower of darts. But they were prodigiously astonished, when they heard a great noise behind them, saw their tents on fire, and themselves attacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left to save themselves but by flight, and accordingly retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river quietly, and without any opposition.

The elephants were still behind, and occasioned a great deal of trouble. They were wafted over the next day in the following manner: From the bank of the river was thrown a raft, two hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth; this was strongly fixed to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth, so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this first raft they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only a hundred feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first raft, and the males followed after; and, when they were got upon the second raft, it was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore, and not a single elephant was drowned.

<sup>1</sup> It is thought this was between Roquemaure and Pont St. Esprit.

## THE MARCH AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE RHONE.

THE two Roman Consuls had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain, with sixty ships, two Roman legions, fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily, with a hundred and sixty ships, two legions, sixteen thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse of the allies.<sup>1</sup> The Roman legion consisted, at that time, of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a seaport town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war. But he was greatly astonished, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, advice was brought him that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached three hundred horse, to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horse for the same purpose, during which some of his soldiers were employed in transporting the elephants.

At the same time he gave audience, in the presence of his whole army, to one of the princes of that part of Gaul which is situated near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was impatiently expected; that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans; that he himself would conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the Gauls; extolled with just praises, the bravery which his forces had shown hitherto, and exhorted them to sustain to the last their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, declared, with uplifted hands, their readiness to follow wherever he should lead the way. Accordingly he appointed the next day for his march; and after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them, desiring, at the same time, that they would take necessary refreshments.

While this was doing the Numidians returned. They had met with and charged the Roman detachment: the conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of combatants. A hundred and sixty of the Romans were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of their enemies. But the honour of this skirmish fell to the Romans, the Numidians having retired, and left them the field of battle. This first action was interpreted as an omen of the fate of the whole war, and seemed to promise success to the Romans, but which, at the same time, would be dearly bought, and strongly contested.<sup>2</sup> On both sides, those who had survived this

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 200—202, &c. Liv. l. xxi. n. 31, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Hoc principium simulque omen belli, ut summâ rerum prosperus eventum, ita haud sanâ incertam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 3.

engagement, and who had been engaged in reconnoitring, returned to inform their respective generals of what they had discovered.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and crossing through the midst of Gaul, advanced northward; not that this was the shortest way to the Alps, but only, as it led him from the sea, it prevented his meeting Scipio; and, by that means, favoured the design he had of marching all his forces into Italy, without lessening them by fighting.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone, till three days after he had set out from it. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and re embarked, fully resolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless, he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greatest part of his army, to make head against Asdrubal; and himself set forwards immediately for Genoa, with the intention of opposing the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days march, arrived at a kind of island, formed by the conflux of two rivers, which unite their streams at this place.<sup>1</sup> Here he was chosen umpire between two brothers, who disputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furnished his whole army with provisions, clothes and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, the people who inhabited the present districts of Geneva, Vienne,<sup>2</sup> and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durance, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any opposition.

#### THE PASSAGE OVER THE ALPS.

THE sight of these mountains, whose tops seemed to touch the skies, and were covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few pitiful cottages, scattered here and there, on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almost perishing with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fierce aspect; this spectacle renewed the terror which the distant prospect had raised, and chilled with fear the hearts of the soldiers.<sup>3</sup> When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had seized upon the highest cliffs, and prepared to oppose their passage. They therefore were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, says Polybius, only lain in ambuscade, and suffered Hannibal's troops to strike into some narrow passage, and then charged them on a sudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably lost. Hannibal, being informed that they kept those posts only in the day time, and quitted them in the evening, possessed himself of them by night. The Gauls, returning

<sup>1</sup> The text of Polybius, as it has been transmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this island at the meeting of the Saone and the Rhone, that is, in that part where the city of Lyons stands. But this is a manifest error. It was *Σαίρας* in the Greek, instead of which *Ἄραρος* has been substituted. J. Gronovius says, that he had read, in the manuscript of Livy, *Bisarar*, which shows that we are to read *Isara Rhodanusque amnes*, instead of *Arar Rhodanusque*; and that the island in question is formed by the conflux of the *Isara* and the *Rhone*. The situation of the Allobroges, here spoken of, proves this evidently.

<sup>2</sup> In Dauphiné.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 203—208. Liv. l. xxi. n. 33—37.

early in the morning, were very much surprised to find their posts in the enemy's hands; but still they were not disheartened. Being used to climb up those rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians who were upon their march, and harassed them on all sides. The latter were obliged, at the same time, to engage with the enemy, and struggle with the ruggedness of the paths of the mountains, where they could hardly stand. But the greatest disorder was caused by the horses and beasts of burden laden with the baggage, that were frightened by the cries and howling of the Gauls, which echoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being sometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the soldiers, and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices which skirted the road. Hannibal, being sensible that the loss of his baggage alone was enough to destroy his army, ran to the assistance of his troops who were thus embarrassed, and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without molestation or danger, and came to a castle, which was the most important fortress in the whole country. He possessed himself of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn, and sufficient cattle to subsist his army for three days.

Although their march was for a short time uninterrupted, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls, feigning to take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had suffered for opposing the passage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their respects to that general, brought him provisions, offered to be his guides, and left him hostages, as pledges of their fidelity. Hannibal, however, placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horses marched in the front, while himself followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all. They came at length to a very steep and narrow pass, which was commanded by an eminence, where the Gauls had placed an ambuscade. These rushing out on a sudden, assailed the Carthaginians on every side, rolling down stones upon them of a prodigious size. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himself, in an extraordinary manner, to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At last, on the ninth day, they reached the summit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days, to rest and refresh themselves after their fatigue, after which they continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow had lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which caused a consternation among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceived it, and halting on a hill, from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the fruitful plains of Piedmont, watered by the river Po, which they had nearly reached, adding that they had but one more effort to make, before they arrived at them. He represented to them, that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them possession of the capital of the Roman empire. This speech, full of such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity. They therefore pursued their march. But still the road was more craggy and troublesome than ever, and as they were now on a descent,

the difficulty and danger increased. For the ways were narrow, steep, and slippery, in most places; so that the soldiers could neither keep their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled, and beat down one another.

They were now come to a place worse than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very steep and craggy, which being made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice more than a thousand feet deep. Here the cavalry stopped short. Hannibal, wondering at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and saw that it would really be impossible for the troops to advance. He therefore was for making a circuitous route, but this also was found impracticable. As upon the old snow, which was growing hard by lying, there was some lately fallen that was of no great depth, the feet, at first, by their sinking into it, found a firm support; but this snow being soon dissolved by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burden, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery that they had no firm footing; and where, if they made the least false step, or endeavored to save themselves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Besides this difficulty, the horses, striking their feet forcibly into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops some days rest, on the summit of this hill, which was of a considerable extent, after they should have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new fallen snow, which was a work of immense labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, and this was carried on with amazing patience and labour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabout were cut down, and piled round the rock, and there set on fire. The wind, fortunately blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out, so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, if Livy may be credited, for Polybius says nothing of this matter, caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock,<sup>1</sup> which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, making a large circuit, in order that the descent might be easier, they cut a way along the rock, which opened a free passage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beasts of burden had no provender, there being no food for them on mountains buried under eternal snows. At last they came into cultivated and fruitful spots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horses, and all kinds of food for the soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> Many reject this incident as fictitious. Pliny takes notice of a remarkable quality in vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and stones.—*Saxa rumpit infusum, que nos reperit ignis antecedens*, l. xxiii. c. 1. He therefore calls it, *Succus rerum domitor*, l. xxiii. c. 2. Dios, speaking of the siege of Eleuthra, says, that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar, l. xxxvi. p. 8. Probably the circumstance that seems improbable on this occasion, is the difficulty of Hannibal's procuring, in those mountains, a quantity of vinegar sufficient for this purpose.

## HANNIBAL ENTERS ITALY.

WHEN Hannibal marched into Italy, his army was far less numerous than when he left Spain, where we find it amounted to nearly sixty thousand men.<sup>1</sup> He had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles he was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it consisted of thirty-eight thousand foot, and above eight thousand horse. The march over the Alps destroyed nearly half this number, so that Hannibal had now remaining only twelve thousand Africans, eight thousand Spanish foot, and six thousand horse. This account he himself caused to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Licinium. It was five months and a half since his first setting out from New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standard in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then have been September.

His first care was to give his troops some rest, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of all the territories of Turin<sup>2</sup> refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their chief city, carried it in three days, and put all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck the barbarians with so much dread, that they all came voluntarily and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought, therefore, that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit, such as might induce those who should have an inclination to join him to rely on his valour.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made greatly alarmed Rome, and caused the utmost consternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and hasten to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced with the utmost diligence towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and pitched his camp near the Ticinus.<sup>3</sup>

## BATTLE OF THE CAVALRY NEAR THE TICINUS.

THE armies being now in sight, the generals on each side made a speech to their soldiers, before they engaged in battle.<sup>4</sup> Scipio, after having represented to his forces the glory of their country, and the noble achievements of their ancestors, observed to them, that victory was in their hands, since they were to combat only with Carthaginians, a people who had been so often defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for twenty years, and long accustomed to be almost their slaves: that the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horse was a sure omen of their success during the rest of the war: that Hannibal, in marching over the Alps, had just before lost the best part of his army, and that those who survived were

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 209 and 212—214. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39.

<sup>2</sup> A small river, now called Tesino, in Lombardy.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 214—218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39—47.

<sup>4</sup> Taurin.



exhausted with hunger, cold, and fatigue: that the bare sight of the Romans was sufficient to put to flight a parcel of soldiers, who had the aspect of ghosts rather than of men: in a word, that victory was become necessary, not only to secure Italy, but to save Rome itself, whose fate the present battle would decide, that city having no other army wherewith to oppose the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the stronger impression on the rude minds of his soldiers, addressed himself to their eyes, before he addressed their ears; and did not attempt to persuade them by arguments, till he had first moved them by the following spectacle. He armed some of the prisoners he had taken in the mountains, and obliged them to fight, two and two, in sight of his army, promising to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich presents. The alacrity and vigour wherewith these barbarians engaged upon these motives, gave Hannibal an occasion of exhibiting to his soldiers a lively image of their present condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, put them under an absolute necessity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endless evils prepared for those that should be so base and cowardly as to submit to the Romans. He displayed to them the greatness of their reward, viz., the conquest of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illustrious victory and immortal glory. He spoke contemptibly of the Roman power, the false lustre of which he observed, ought not to dazzle such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations, into the very centre of Italy. As for his own part, he scorned to compare himself with Scipio, a general of but six months standing; himself, who was almost born, at least brought up, in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what was still more remarkable, of the Alps themselves. He roused their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himself, and the rest who had taken Saguntum, should be delivered up to them; and excited their jealousy against the intolerable pride of those imperious masters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the world.

After these speeches, both sides prepared for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge across the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens had filled his army with consternation and dread.<sup>1</sup> As for the Carthaginians, they were inspired with the boldest courage. Hannibal animated them with fresh promises; and cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prayed to Jupiter to dash his head in pieces in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them.

Scipio posted in the first line, the troops armed with missile weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advanced slowly. Hannibal advanced with

<sup>1</sup> These two ill omens were, first, a wolf had stole into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavoured to kill it; and, secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the prætorium, or general's tent.—Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

his whole cavalry, in the centre of which he had posted the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horse on the wings, in order to surround the enemy.<sup>1</sup> The officers and cavalry, being eager to engage, the battle commenced. At the first onset, Scipio's light-armed soldiers discharged their darts, but frightened at the Carthaginian cavalry, which came pouring upon them, and fearing lest they should be trampled under the horses' feet, they gave way, and retired through the intervals of the squadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides dismounted; so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surrounded the enemy, and charged the rear of the light-armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and trod them under their horses' feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were thrown into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and especially by a wound the consul received, which disabled him. This general, however, was rescued out of the enemy's hand by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years old, and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse who covered him with their arms and bodies: the rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It was agreed, that Hannibal owed this first victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth, that the main strength of his army consisted in his horse; and therefore, that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains like those between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. And this, as Polybius has observed, was what chiefly induced that wise and skilful general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impossibility of marching back whenever he should desire to do it, because nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him: their assistance being the only refuge he then had left.

#### BATTLE OF TREBIA.

SEMPRONIUS the consul, upon the orders he had received from the senate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum.<sup>2</sup> From thence he marched towards Trebia, a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Placentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, from

<sup>1</sup> The Numidians used to ride without saddle or bridle.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. xxiii. p. 220—227. Liv. l. xxi. n. 51—56.

which he was separated only by that small river. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained but a very small advantage over a party of Carthaginians, which nevertheless very much increased the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconsiderable success seemed to him a complete victory. He boasted his having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now resolutely bent to come, as soon as possible, to a decisive battle, he thought it proper, for decency sake, to consult Scipio, whom he found to be of quite a different opinion from himself. Scipio represented, that in case time should be allowed for disciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much more fit for service in the ensuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves insensibly from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds should be healed, his presence might be of some use in an affair of such general concern; in a word, he besought him earnestly not to proceed any farther.

These reasons, though so just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of sixteen thousand Romans, and twenty thousand allies, exclusive of cavalry, which number, in those ages, formed a complete army, when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the same number. He thought the juncture extremely favorable for him. He declared publicly, that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle, except his colleague, whose mind, he observed, being more affected by his wound than his body, could not for that reason bear to hear of an engagement. But still, continued Sempronius, is it just to let the whole army droop and languish with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul, and new army, would come to his assistance? Such were the expressions he employed, both among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness to secure the whole honour of the victory to himself. As he had no regard, says Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal desired, holding it for a maxim, that when a general has entered a foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, that such an one has no other refuge left, but continually to raise the expectation of his allies by some fresh exploits. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with new-levied and inexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking every advantage possible of the ardour of the Gauls, who were extremely desirous of fighting; and of Scipio's

absence, who, by reason of his wound, could not be present in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with two thousand men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet, which ran between the two camps, and to conceal himself among the bushes, that were very thick there. An ambuscade is often safer in a smooth open country, but full of thickets, as this was, than in woods, because such a spot is less apt to be suspected. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen, came exactly to pass. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then six thousand light-armed troops, who were soon followed by the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very armpits through the rivulet, which was swollen with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter-solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without taking the least precaution; whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, eat and drank plentifully in their tents; had got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-side.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time, though they were half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold; but their cavalry was at last broken and put to flight by that of the Carthaginians, which much exceeded theirs in numbers and strength. The infantry also were soon in great disorder. The soldiers in ambuscade sallying out at a proper time, rushed suddenly upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of about ten thousand men fought their way resolutely through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends, nor return to their camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse, the river and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to pieces by the elephants and horses. Those who escaped, joined the body above mentioned. The next night Scipio also retired to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses were destroyed by the cold, the rain, and the snow; and that, of all their elephants, they saved but one.

In Spain the Romans had better success, in this and the following campaign,<sup>1</sup> for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus,<sup>2</sup> defeated Hanno, and made him prisoner.

Hannibal took the opportunity, while he was in winter quarters, to

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 60, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Or Ebro.

refresh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners he had taken from the Roman allies, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but to restore the Italians to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans, he sent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the least ransom.<sup>1</sup>

The winter was no sooner over, than he set off towards Tuscany, whither he hastened his march for two important reasons.<sup>2</sup> First, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill-will of the Gauls, who were tired with the long stay of the Carthaginian army in their territories; and impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view, than to carry it into the country of their common enemy. Secondly, that he might increase, by some bold exploit, the reputation of his arms in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome, and at the same time, reanimate his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's territories. But in his march over the Appenines, he was overtaken with a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the wind, and hail, seemed to conspire his ruin; so that the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in crossing the Alps, seemed less dreadful than these they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who had returned from Rome. The loss on both sides was very nearly equal.

While Hannibal was in these winter quarters, he hit upon a stratagem truly Carthaginian.<sup>3</sup> He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant nations; the friendship he had contracted with them was but of recent date. He had reason to apprehend a change in their disposition, and consequently that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself, therefore, he got perukes made, and clothes suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another; and disguised himself so often, that not only those who saw him transiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could scarcely know him.

At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed consuls.<sup>4</sup> Hannibal, having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuscany, resolved to go and engage him as soon as possible. Two ways being shown him, he chose the shortest, though the most troublesome, nay, almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights, they marched half-leg deep in water, and consequently could not get a moment's sleep. Hannibal himself, who rode upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of sleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that marshy place, together with the unhealthfulness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxi. n. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. l. xxi. Liv. l. xxii. n. 1. Appian. in Bell. Annib. p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3783. A. Rome, 532. Polyb. p. 230, 231. Liv. l. xxii. n. 2.

## BATTLE OF THRASYMENE.

HANNIBAL, thus extricated, almost unexpectedly, out of this dangerous situation, refreshed his troops, and then marched and pitched his camp between Arretium and Fesulæ, in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany.<sup>1</sup> His first endeavours were, to discover the genius and character of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his errors, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief study of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was very self-conceited, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into these excesses, to which he was naturally prone,<sup>2</sup> he inflamed his impetuous spirit, by laying waste and burning the whole country in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a disposition to remain inactive in his camp, though Hannibal should have lain still. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste before his eyes, he thought it would reflect dishonour upon him should he suffer Hannibal to ravage Italy without control, and even advance to the very walls of Rome, without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him to wait the arrival of his colleague; and to be satisfied for the present with putting a stop to the devastation of the enemy.

In the meantime, Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thrasymene on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with the design to give him battle, by stopping him in his march; having observed that the ground was convenient for that purpose, he also began to prepare himself for battle. The lake Thrasymene and the mountains of Cortona form a narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides with hills of considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill of difficult access. On this hill, Hannibal, after having crossed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army; posting his light-armed infantry in ambuscade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Accordingly, this general, who followed him eagerly, with the resolution to fight him, having reached the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, because night was coming on; but he entered it the next morning at day-break.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance with all his forces more than half way through the valley, and seeing the Roman van-guard pretty near him, he sounded the charge, and commanded his troops to come out of their ambuscade, that he might attack the enemy, at the same time, from all quarters. The reader may guess at the consternation with which the Romans were seized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked in

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 231—238.

<sup>2</sup> Apparebat ferociter omnia se præpropere acturum. Quoque prior esset in sua vitâ, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat.—Liv. l. xxii. n. 3.

front, in rear, and in flank. In a moment, all the ranks were put in disorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in so universal a consternation, animated his soldiers both with his hands and voice; and exhorted them to cut themselves a passage, with their swords, through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned everywhere, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a heavy fog, prevented his being seen or heard. When the Romans, however, saw themselves surrounded on all sides, either by the enemy or the lake, and the impossibility of saving their lives by flight, it roused their courage, and both parties began the fight with astonishing animosity. Their fury was so great, that not a soldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confusion, Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at last turned and fled. Great numbers, to save themselves, leaped into the lake; while others, directing their course to the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they strove to avoid. Only six thousand cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of safety; but the next day they were taken prisoners. In this battle fifteen thousand Romans were killed, and about ten thousand escaped to Rome, by different roads. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the least ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but fifteen hundred men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal despatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his success in Italy. This caused the greatest joy for the present, raised the most promising hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with incredible ardour, to send into Italy and Spain all necessary succours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the prætor had pronounced from the rostra the following words, *We have lost a great battle*. The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that, in so great a calamity, and so imminent a danger, recourse must be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed his general of horse. We are now in the second year of the war.

#### HANNIBAL'S CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO FABIUS.

HANNIBAL, after the battle of Thrasymene, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented himself, in the mean time, with laying waste the country.<sup>1</sup> He crossed Umbria and Picenum; and

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. xxiii. p. 239—255. Liv. l. xxii. n. 9—30.

after ten days march, arrived in the territory of Adria.<sup>1</sup> He got a very considerable booty in this march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded that all who were able to bear arms should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle anywhere, he advanced as far as Apulia, plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to disengage themselves from their allegiance with the Romans, and to show all Italy, that Rome itself, now quite dispirited, yielded him the victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step, till he had first reconnoitred every place; nor hazard a battle, till he should be sure of success.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing almost to the intrenchments of their camp. But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming in appearance the outward cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at last lost the valour so natural to their ancestors; but fretting inwardly, to find he had to act with a general of so different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarrass him very much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had resolution enough to pursue steadily the plan he seemed to have laid down. He endeavoured, therefore, to rouse him, by his frequent removals from place to place, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raise his camp with the utmost precipitation; and at another, stop short in some valley out of the common route, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. However, Fabius still kept his troops on the hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement, nor yet keeping at such a distance, as might give him an opportunity of escaping him. He never suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, and not even on those occasions without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. This conduct revived, by insensible degrees, the courage of the soldiers, which the loss of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and success.

Hannibal, having got immensely rich spoils in Campania, where he had resided a considerable time, left there with his army, that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides, he could no longer continue in a country

<sup>1</sup> A small town, which gave name to the Adriatic sea.



of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye, than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter-quarters among marshes, rocks, and sands; whereas the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to settle elsewhere.

Fabius naturally supposed that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into Casilinum, thereby securing that small town, situated on the Vulturinus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua; he afterwards detached four thousand men, to seize the only narrow pass through which Hannibal could come out; and then, according to his usual custom, posted himself with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining the road.

The Carthaginians arrived, and encamped in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now, the crafty Carthaginian fell into the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymene; and it seemed impossible for him ever to extricate himself out of this difficulty, there being but one outlet, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself with the probable hopes of putting an end to the war by this single battle. Nevertheless he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived that his own artifices were now employed against him.<sup>1</sup> It is in such junctures as these, that a general has need of great presence of mind, and unusual fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent, without being struck with the least dread; and to find out sure and instant expedients, without deliberating. The Carthaginian general immediately caused two thousand oxen to be collected, and ordered small bundles of vine branches to be tied to their horns. He then commanded the branches to be set on fire in the dead of night, and the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills, where the Romans were encamped. As soon as those creatures felt the flame, the pain putting them in a rage, they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. This squadron, of a new kind, was sustained by a good number of light-armed soldiers, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the enemy in case they should meet them. All things happened which Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans, who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torch-light, quit their posts and ran to the mountains to oppose his passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult, and Fabius himself not daring to stir, as it was excessively dark, for fear of a surprise, waited for the return of the day. Hannibal seized this opportunity, marched his troops and the spoils through the defile, which was now unguarded, and rescued his army out of a snare, in which,

<sup>1</sup> *Nec Annibalem sefellit suis se artibus peti.*—Liv.

had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been destroyed, or at least very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harassed by the Romans. The dictator being obliged to take a journey to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, earnestly entreated his general of horse, before his departure, not to fight during his absence. Minucius however did not regard either his advice or his entreaties, but the very first opportunity he had, while part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before happened at the passage of the defile, raised complaints and murmurs against the slow and timorous circumspection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this, for he had left Rome, that he might not be an eye-witness of what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was very sensible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his skill in the art of war was not so.<sup>1</sup> This soon became manifest.

Minucius, grown arrogant with the advantage he had gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this proposal, as it would have exposed the whole army to danger while under the command of Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part which should fall to his share.

Hannibal, fully informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was overjoyed to hear of this dissension of the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it, and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. But his troops, being soon put into disorder, were just on the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the sudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers, "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius; let us fly and snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable, and compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountains, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty storm." So important and seasonable a service rendered by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience, and showed that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than to have committed it.

<sup>1</sup> *Satis fidens haudquacquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi equatam.*—Liv. l. xxii. n. 26.

## THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

IN the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a great quantity of rich spoils.<sup>1</sup> This victory made the Romans sensible that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw considerable supplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly they sent a fleet thither, the command of which was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They then were satisfied with having gained the friendship of the nations situated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances; but under Publius, they crossed the Ebro, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their affairs, was the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelox, (for so this Spaniard was called,) persuaded Bostar, the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. He himself was charged with this commission; but he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and by so acceptable a present, acquired their amity.

## THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

THE next spring, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Æmilius Paulus, were chosen consuls at Rome.<sup>2</sup> In this campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans did what had never been practised before, viz. they composed the army of eight legions, each consisting of five thousand men, exclusive of allies. For as we have already observed, the Romans never raised but four legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand foot, and three hundred horse.<sup>3</sup> They never, except on the most important occasions, made them consist of five thousand of the one, and four hundred of the other. As for the troops of the allies, the number of their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, that they might act separately; and all the forces were very seldom used at the same time, and in the same expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, so important did the affair appear to them. The senate even thought proper that the two consuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Attilius, should serve in

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. iii. p. 245—250. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19—22.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3789. A. Rome, 533. Polyb. l. iii. p. 255—268. Liv. l. xxii. n. 34—54.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius supposes only two hundred horse in each legion; but J. Lipsius thinks that this is a mistake, either of the author or transcriber.

the army as proconsuls; but the latter could not go into the field, in consequence of his great age.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, as long as men of the character of Fabius should be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians, of whom near seventeen hundred were killed, greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. As for Hannibal, he considered this loss as a real advantage, being persuaded that it would serve as a bait to the consul's rashness, and urge him on to a battle, which he anxiously desired. It was afterwards known, that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies, having often removed from place to place, came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level, open country, and his cavalry much superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place. He was for drawing the enemy into an irregular spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action. But his colleague, who was wholly inexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the disadvantage of a divided command; jealousy, a difference of disposition, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create a dissension between the two generals.

The troops on either side were, for some time, contented with slight skirmishes. But at last, one day when Varro had the command, for the two consuls took it by turns, preparations were made on both sides for battle. Æmilius had not been consulted; yet, though he extremely disapproved the conduct of his colleague, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he seconded him to the utmost.

Hannibal, after having pointed out to his soldiers that being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have pitched upon a better spot for fighting, had it been left to their choice, thus addressed them: "Return thanks to the gods for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also for having reduced the Romans to the necessity of coming to an engagement. After three great victories, won successively, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By former battles, you are become masters of the open country, but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and, I presume to say it, of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want, but actions. I trust in the gods that you shall soon see my promises verified."

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and a little more than six thousand horse, and that of the Carthaginians consisted but of forty thousand foot, all well disciplined, and of ten thousand

horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the consuls of the last year, was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who had the art of taking all advantages, had posted himself, so as the wind Vulturinus,<sup>1</sup> which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gallic infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the same line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himself at the head of the Spanish and Gallic infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to begin the battle, rounding his front as he advanced nearer the enemy; and extending his flanks in the shape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their posts.

The fight soon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, seeing their centre warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave resistance, finding themselves furiously attacked on all sides, gave way, being overpowered by numbers, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans having pursued them thither with eager confusion, the two wings of the African infantry, which were fresh, well armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder, and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without allowing them time to recover themselves, or leaving them ground to form. In the meantime, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated those of the Romans, which were much inferior to them, and, in order to pursue the broken and scattered squadrons, having left only as many forces as were necessary to keep them from rallying, advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being surrounded at once on every side by the enemy's horse and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Æmilius, being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy, to whom he was not known; and with him two questors, one and twenty military tribunes, many who had been either consuls or prætors; Servilius, one of the last year's consuls, Minucius, the late general of horse to Fabius, and fourscore senators. Above seventy thousand men fell in this battle;<sup>2</sup> and the Carthaginians, so great was their fury,<sup>3</sup> did not give over the slaughter, till Hannibal, in the very heat of it, called out to them several times, *Stop, soldiers; spare the vanquished.* Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp,

<sup>1</sup> A violent burning wind, blowing south-south-east, which, in this flat and sandy country, raised clouds of hot dust, and blinded and choked the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Livy lessens very much the number of the slain, making them amount to about forty-three thousand. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.

<sup>3</sup> Duo maximi exercitus caesi ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi suo: *Parece sacro.*—Flor. l. i. c. 6.

surrendered themselves prisoners of war after the battle. Varro, the consul, retired to Venusia, with only seventy horse; and about four thousand men escaped into the neighboring cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He lost four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march directly to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was an affair which required mature examination, "I see," replied Maharbal, "that the gods have not endowed the same man with every talent. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory."<sup>1</sup>

It is pretended that this delay saved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among them Livy, charge Hannibal, on this occasion, with being guilty of a capital error. But others, more reserved, are not for condemning, without evident proofs, so renowned a general, who, in the rest of his conduct, was never wanting, either in prudence to make choice of the best expedients, or in readiness to put his designs in execution. They are, moreover, inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at least the silence of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this celebrated battle, says, that the Carthaginians were firmly persuaded, that they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault; but, then, he does not mention how this could possibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a garrison of two legions; nor does he anywhere give the least hint that such a project was feasible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And, indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we shall find, that, according to the common maxims of war, it could not be undertaken. It is certain that Hannibal's whole infantry, before the battle, amounted but to forty thousand men; and as six thousand of these had been slain in the action, and doubtless many more either wounded or disabled, there could remain but six or seven-and-twenty thousand foot for service. Now this number was not sufficient to invest so large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it; nor to attack it in form, because they had neither engines, ammunition, nor any other things necessary for carrying on a siege.<sup>2</sup> For want of these, Hannibal, even after his victory at Thrasymene, miscarried in his attempt upon Spoletum; and, soon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raise the siege of Casilinum, though a city of little note or strength. It cannot be denied, that, had he miscarried on the present occasion, nothing less could have been expected, than that he must have been irrecoverably lost. However, to form a judgment of this matter, a man ought to be a soldier, and should perhaps have been

<sup>1</sup> Tum Maharbal: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dederūt. Vincere scis, Annibal, victoriā tū nescis.—Livy. l. xxii. n. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxii. n. 9. Ibid l. xxiii. n. 18.

upon the spot. This is an old dispute, on which none but those who are perfectly well skilled in the art of war should pretend to give their opinion.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory;<sup>1</sup> and at the same time to demand succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war. Mago, on his arrival, made, in full senate, a lofty speech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans. And, to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, by speaking in some measure to the eye, he poured out in the middle of the senate a bushel of gold rings,<sup>2</sup> which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, provisions, and fresh troops. All the spectators were struck with an extraordinary joy, upon which Imilcon, a warm advocate for Hannibal, fancying he now had a fair opportunity to insult Hanno, the chief of the opposite faction, asked him, whether he was still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno, without discovering the least emotion, replied, that he was still of the same mind, and that the victories they so much boasted, supposing them real, could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace; he then undertook to prove that the mighty exploits, on which they insisted so much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. "I have cut to pieces," says he, continuing Mago's speech, "the Roman armies; send me some troops. What more could you ask, had you been conquered? I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp, full, no doubt, of provisions of every kind.—Send me provisions and money. Could you have talked otherwise, had you lost your camp?" He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations were come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace? To this, Mago answering in the negative, "I then perceive," replied Hanno, "that we are no farther advanced than when Hannibal first landed in Italy." The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be sent. But Hannibal's faction prevailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were considered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy; and accordingly, orders were given for levying the supplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise twenty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse, in that country; but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent another way, so eager was the opposite faction to counteract the designs of a general whom they utterly abhorred. In Rome, a consul who had fled was thanked because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; but at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal for being

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11—14.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, l. xxxiii. c. 1, says, that there were three bushels sent to Carthage. Livy observes that some authors make them amount to three bushels and a half, but he thinks it most probable that there was but one, l. xxxiii. n. 12.—Florus, l. ii. c. 16, makes it two bushels.

victorious.<sup>1</sup> Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, because he had undertaken it in opposition to his counsel. Thus, being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future successes, and to frustrate those already acquired.

#### HANNIBAL TAKES UP HIS WINTER QUARTERS IN CAPUA.

THE battle of Cannæ subjected the most powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal,<sup>2</sup> drew over to his interest Græcia Magna,<sup>3</sup> with the city of Tarentum; and so wrested from the Romans their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. This city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a flow of pleasures, the usual attendants on wealth, had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural disposition, were but too much inclined to voluptuousness and all excesses.

Hannibal made choice of this city for his winter-quarters.<sup>4</sup> Here it was that his soldiers, who had sustained the most grievous toils, and braved the most formidable dangers, were overthrown by delights and a profusion of all things, into which they plunged with the greater eagerness, as they, till then, had been strangers to them. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their efforts were owing rather to the fame and splendour of their former victories, than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, they would have been taken for other men, and the reverse of those who had so lately marched into it. Accustomed, during the winter season, to commodious lodgings, to ease and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war; not to mention, that all obedience, all discipline, were entirely laid aside.

I only transcribe on this occasion from Livy, who, if he may be credited, thinks Hannibal's stay at Capua a reproach to his conduct; and pretends that there he was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For this delay, says Livy, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas this last misconduct rendered him absolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy.<sup>5</sup> In a word, as Marcellus afterwards judiciously observed, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their

<sup>1</sup> De St. Evremond.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxiii. n. 4—18.

<sup>3</sup> Cæterum quam Græci omnem fere oram maritimam colonis suis e Græciâ deductis, obsiderent, &c. But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, possessed themselves of almost all the maritime coast, this very country, together with Sicily, was called Græcia Magna, &c.—Cluver. Geograph. l. iii. c. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibi partem majorem hlemis exercitum in teotib; habuit; adversus omnia humana mala sæpe ac diu durantem, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, et eo impensius, quo avidius ex inœtentiâ in eas se merserant.—Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires admissæ ad vincendum.—Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.



general, what Cannæ had been to the Romans.<sup>1</sup> There their martial genius, their love of discipline, were lost: there their former fame, and their almost certain hopes of future glory, vanished at once. And, indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal rapidly advanced to their decline; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory seemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has reason to impute all these fatal consequences to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumstances of this history, we shall be hardly able to persuade ourselves, that the little progress which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal ought to be ascribed to Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cause, but this would be a very inconsiderable one: and the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal afterwards defeated the armies of consuls and prætors; the towns they took even in sight of the Romans; their maintaining their conquests so vigorously, and staying fourteen years after this in Italy, in spite of the Romans; all these circumstances may induce us to believe, that Livy lays too great a stress on the delights of Capua.

The real cause of the decay of Hannibal's affairs was owing to his want of necessary recruits and succours from Carthage. After Mago's speech, the Carthaginian senate had judged it necessary, in order to carry on the conquests in Italy, to send thither a considerable reinforcement of Numidian horse, forty elephants, and a thousand talents; and to hire, in Spain, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to reinforce their armies in Spain and Italy.<sup>2</sup> Mago, however, could obtain an order but for twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: and even when he was just going to march to Italy with an army so much inferior to that which had been promised him, he was countermanded and sent to Spain.<sup>3</sup> So that Hannibal, after these mighty promises, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money sent him, but was left to his own resources. His army was now reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. How could it be possible for him, with so inconsiderable an army, to seize, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous posts; to awe his new allies, to preserve his old conquests, and form new ones; and to keep the field with advantage against two armies of the Romans, which were recruited every year? This was the true cause of the declension of Hannibal's affairs, and of the ruin of those of Carthage. Were the part where Polybius treats of this subject extant, we doubtless should find, that he lays a greater stress on this cause, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

#### THE TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO SPAIN AND SARDINIA.

THE two Scipios continued in the command of Spain, and their arms were making a considerable progress there, when Asdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage to march

<sup>1</sup> Capuam Annibal Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam.—Livy. l. xxiii. n. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Livy l. xxiii. n. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. n. 32.

into Italy to the relief of his brother.<sup>1</sup> Before he left Spain, he wrote to the senate to convince them of the absolute necessity of their sending a general in his stead, who possessed abilities adequate to oppose the Romans. Imilcon was therefore sent thither with an army; and Asdrubal commenced his march in order to join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known than the greatest part of Spain was subdued by the Scipios. These two generals, animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent him, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed, if, being scarcely able to resist Hannibal only, they should be attacked by the two brothers at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore pursued Asdrubal, and coming up with him forced him to fight against his inclination. Asdrubal was overcome; and so far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impossible for him to continue with any safety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellions they had fomented in that country, they lost twelve thousand men in a battle fought with the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, among whom was Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago,<sup>2</sup> who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

#### THE ILL SUCCESS OF HANNIBAL. THE SIEGES OF CAPUA AND ROME.

FROM Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer supported their reputation.<sup>3</sup> M. Marcellus, first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harassed Hannibal's army on every occasion, seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been called its buckler.

But what most affected the Carthaginian general, was to see Capua besieged by the Romans.<sup>4</sup> In order, therefore, to preserve his reputation among his allies, by a vigorous support of those who held the chief rank as such, he flew to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. At last, seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily towards Rome, in order to make a powerful diversion.<sup>5</sup> He had some hopes, in case he could have had an opportunity, in the first consternation, to storm some part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals, with all their forces, from the siege of Capua, to the relief of their capital; he flattered himself, at least, that if for the sake of continuing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging and defeating them. Rome was struck, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators, to recall all the armies to succour Rome, Fabius declared that it would be a disgrace for them

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3790. A. Rome, 534. Liv. xxiii. n. 26—30, 32, 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Not Hannibal's brother.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3791. A. Rome, 535. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 41—46. l. xxv. n. 22. l. xxvi. n. 5—16

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3793. A. Rome, 537.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3794. A. Rome, 538.

to be terrified, and forced to change their measures, upon every motion of Hannibal.<sup>1</sup> They therefore contented themselves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius, the proconsul, from the siege. Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing to signalize themselves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompense, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no sooner returned to their respective camps, than the face of the heavens grew calm and serene. The same happened frequently afterwards, insomuch that Hannibal, believing that there was something supernatural in the event, said, according to Livy, that sometimes his own will, and sometimes fortune, would not suffer him to take Rome.<sup>2</sup>

But the circumstance which most surprised and intimidated him, was the news that while he lay encamped at one of the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and at the same time disposed of the ground whereon he was encamped, notwithstanding which, it had been sold for its full value. Such open contempt stung Hannibal to the quick: he, therefore, on the other hand, exposed to sale the shops of the goldsmiths round the forum. After this bravado he retired, and, in his march, plundered the rich temple of the goddess Feronia.<sup>3</sup>

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After such of its senators as had been principals in the revolt, and consequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themselves to a truly tragical death,<sup>4</sup> the city surrendered at discretion. The success of this siege, which, by the happy consequences attending it, proved decisive, and gave the Romans a visible superiority over the Carthaginians, displayed at the same time, how formidable the power of the Romans was,<sup>5</sup> when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends, at a time when they most wanted it.

#### THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE TWO SCIPIOS IN SPAIN.

THE face of affairs was very much changed in Spain.<sup>6</sup> The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Asdru-

<sup>1</sup> Flagitiosum esse terrori ac circumagi ad omnes Annibalis comminationes.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Audita vox Annibalis fertur, potiusdæ sibi urbis Romæ, modo mentem nondari, modo fortunam.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Feronia was the goddess of groves, and there was one with a temple in it dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, speaking of the grove where the goddess was worshipped, says, that a sacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries, inspired by this goddess, walked unhurt over burning coals. There are still extant some medals of Augustus, in which this goddess is represented with a crown on her head.

<sup>4</sup> Villus Virius, the chief of this conspiracy, after having represented to the Capuan senate, the severe treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed upon twenty-seven senators to go with him to his own house, where, after eating a plentiful supper, and heating themselves with wine, they all drank poison. Then, taking their last farewell, some withdrew to their own houses, others staid with Virius; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Confessio expressa hosti, quanta vis in Romanis ad expectandas pœnas ab infidelibus sociis, et quam nihil in Annibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 16.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3793. A. Rome, 537. Liv. l. xxv. p. 32—39.

bal, the son of Gisco; the second by Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Asdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin: it accordingly was agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and thirty thousand Celtiberians, should march against Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar; while Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the allies of Italy, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. Masinissa, elated with the victories he had lately obtained over Syphax, had joined the two leaders whom Publius was to oppose; and was to be soon followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement. The Romans, being thus attacked on all sides at once, made a brave resistance as long as they had their general at their head; but, the moment he fell, the few troops which had escaped the slaughter, secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquished, by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him, and left to the Roman generals this important instruction, viz., never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by those of foreigners.<sup>1</sup> He had reason to believe that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, on seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and the Spaniards bewailed their memory on account of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These extensive countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius,<sup>2</sup> a private officer of the equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Shortly after this, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who fully avenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of the Romans in Spain to their former flourishing condition.

#### THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ASDRUBAL.

ONE unforeseen defeat ruined all the measures, and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy.<sup>3</sup> The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war, (for I pass over several events for brevity's sake,) were C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius. The latter had, for his province, Cisalpine Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians, and in Luca-

<sup>1</sup> *Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis duobus erit, exempla que hæc vere pro documentis habenda. Ne ita externis credant auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie virium in castris habeant.*—Liv. n. 33.

<sup>2</sup> He attacked the Carthaginians, who had divided themselves into two camps, and were secure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed thirty-seven thousand of them; took one thousand eight hundred prisoners, and brought off immense plunder.—Liv. l. xxv. n. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *A. M. 3798. A. Rome, 542. Polyb. l. xi. p. 622—625. Liv. l. xxvii. p. 35—39, 51.*

nia, that is, in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there making head against Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal very little trouble, because his brother had cleared the way for him, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this he despatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of his duty, for the welfare of his country.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this, it was his opinion, that such a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, as might be capable of terrifying the enemy, by marching to the relief of his colleague, in order to charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This design, if the several circumstances of it be thoroughly examined, will appear exceedingly remote from imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, was to save the state. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal should be informed of the absence of the consul. From his army, which consisted of forty-two thousand men, he drew out but seven thousand for his own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but at the same time, a very inconsiderable part of them. The rest remained in the camp, which was advantageously situated, and strongly fortified. Now, could it be supposed that Hannibal would attack, and force a camp, defended by thirty-five thousand men?

Nero set out without giving his soldiers the least notice of his design. When he advanced so far, that it might be communicated without any danger, he told them, that he was leading them to certain victory; that in war all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night, but did not encamp separately the better to impose upon the enemy. The troops on their arrival joined those of Livius. The army of Pontius the prætor was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion, that it might be proper to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves, but Nero besought him not to ruin, by delay, an enterprise to which despatch only could give success; and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, absent as well as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given. Asdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered by several circumstances, that fresh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and, at the same time, fear that he was come too late to his assistance.

After making these reflections, he caused a retreat to be sounded

<sup>1</sup> No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.

and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting, he was uncertain which way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the river Metaurus,<sup>1</sup> and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did every thing which could be expected from the presence of mind and valour of a great captain. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing, the weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving to his main body and right wing a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he posted himself in the centre, and first marched to attack the enemy's left wing; well knowing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed on both sides. Asdrubal, especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a series of brilliant actions. He led on his soldiers, trembling and quite dispirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words, supported them by his example, and, with entreaties and menaces, endeavored to bring back those who fled; till, at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quit their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the most bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war; and, whether we consider the death of the general, or the slaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a retaliation for the battle of Cannæ. The Carthaginians lost fifty-five thousand men,<sup>2</sup> and six thousand prisoners. The Romans lost eight thousand, and were so weary of slaughter, that some person telling Livius, that he might very easily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: *It is fit, says he, that some should survive, that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.*

Nero set out upon his march on the very night which followed the engagement. Through all the places where he passed, in his return, he was welcomed by shouts of joy and loud acclamations, instead of those fears and uneasiness which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in his camp the sixth day. Asdrubal's head being thrown into that of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate. Hannibal perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of Carthage: *It is finished, says he; I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage. In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once*

<sup>1</sup> Now called Metauro.

<sup>2</sup> According to Polybins, the loss amounted to but ten thousand men, and that of the Romans to two thousand.—L. xi. p. 370. Edit. Gronov.

*all my hope, all my good fortune.*<sup>1</sup> He afterwards retired to the extremities of the country of the Brutians, where he assembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to subsist there, as no provisions were sent them from Carthage.

SCIPIO CONQUERS ALL SPAIN; IS APPOINTED CONSUL, AND SAILS INTO AFRICA. HANNIBAL IS RECALLED.

THE affairs of the Carthaginians were equally unfortunate in Spain.<sup>2</sup> The prudent activity of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flourishing state, as the courageous delay of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Asdrubal son of Gisco, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans, in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of Spain, and subjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Masinissa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans; and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

Scipio, on his return to Rome, was declared consul, being then thirty years of age.<sup>3</sup> He had P. Lucinius Crassus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He set out with all imaginable expedition for his province; while his colleague was to command in the country to which Hannibal had retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, the courage, and capacity which could have been expected from the greatest generals, and the complete conquest of Spain, were more than sufficient to immortalize his name: but he had considered these as only so many steps by which to climb to a nobler enterprise, and this was the conquest of Africa. Accordingly he crossed over thither, and made it the seat of war.

The devastation of the country; the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Asdrubal, whose camp was burnt by Scipio; and afterwards the taking of Syphax himself prisoner, who was the most powerful resource the Carthaginians had left; all these things forced them at last to turn their thoughts to peace. They thereupon deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose, out of the powerful body at Carthage, called the *council of the hundred*. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they threw themselves prostrate on the earth, (such was the custom of their country,) spoke to him in terms of great submission, accusing Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promising, in the name of the senate, an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans should please to

<sup>1</sup> Horace makes him speak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is described.  
Carthagini jam non ego nuntios  
Mittam superbos. Occidit, occidit  
Spes omnis, et fortuna nostri  
Nominis, Asdrubale interempto.—Lib. vi. Od. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3799. A. Rome, 543. Polyb. l. xi. p. 650. et l. xiv. p. 677—687. et l. xv. p. 689—694. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 1—4, 16, 38, 40—46. l. xxix. n. 24—36. l. xxx. n. 20—23.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3800. A. Rome, 544.

ordain. Scipio answered, that though he was come into Africa, not for peace, but conquest, he would however grant them a peace, upon condition that they should deliver up all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of all the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, except twenty, to the victor; should give to the Romans five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay fifteen thousand talents: that in case they were pleased with these conditions, they then might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time, till Hannibal should be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately sent deputies to Rome; and at the same time, an express to Hannibal, to order his return into Africa.

He was then, as was observed before, in the extremity of Italy.<sup>1</sup> Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not listen to without groans, and almost tears; and was exasperated almost to madness, to see himself thus forced to quit his prey. An exile could not have showed more regret at leaving his native country, than Hannibal did in quitting that of an enemy.<sup>2</sup> He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, says Livy, upon himself, for not having marched directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, while his soldiers were still reeking with the blood of its citizens.<sup>3</sup>

At Rome, the senate, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies, in justification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutetia, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the spot, could best judge what conditions the welfare of the state required.

About the same time, Octavius the prætor, sailing from Sicily with two hundred vessels of burden, was attacked near Carthage by a violent storm, which dispersed his fleet. The citizens, unwilling to see so rich a prey escape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied. Asdrubal, sailing out of the harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to the Carthaginian senate, to complain of this, but they were slightly regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted, and accordingly two

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3802. A. Rome, 546.

<sup>2</sup> *Raro quenquam alium patriam exilii causa relinquente[m] magis moestum abire ferunt, quam Annibalem hostium terra excedente[m]. Respexisset sæpe Italice littora, et deos homineque accusante[m], in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput execratum, "Quod non eruentum ab Cannensi victoria militem Romam duxisset."*—Liv. l. xxx. n. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Livy supposes, however, that this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himself afterwards regretted.



ships of the republic attended them; but the magistrates, who were absolutely against peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal, who was with the fleet near Utica, to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Bagrada, near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors, who, nevertheless, made their escape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a fresh subject for a war between the two nations, who were now more animated, or rather more exasperated one against the other, than ever; the Romans, from the strong desire they had to revenge so base a perfidy, and the Carthaginians, from a firm persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the same time, Lælius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the persons of the Roman ambassadors, it was natural that their principals should order the Carthaginian deputies to be seized by way of reprisal. Scipio, however,<sup>1</sup> more attentive to the Roman generosity than to the demerits of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, dismissed the deputies, without offering them the least injury. So astonishing an instance of moderation, and at such a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and even put them to the blush; and made Hannibal himself entertain a still higher idea of a general, who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed a rectitude and magnanimity, still more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

In the meantime, Hannibal, being strongly importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced into the country; and arriving at Zama, which is five days march from Carthage, encamped there. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the Romans. Scipio having seized these, so far from punishing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, that they might take an exact survey of it, and then sent them back to Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence so noble an assurance flowed. After the strange reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. While every one was exciting him to give battle, he alone meditated a peace. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable for him, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of war might still appear uncertain. He therefore sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which accordingly was agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκκαίτω τὰρ' ἀπὸ ἀλλογιζόμενος, ὃν ἔπε τι δὲν παθεῖν Καρχηδόνιος, ὡς τι δὲν ἦν πράξει Ῥωμαῖος.—Polyb. l. xv. p. 965, edit. Gronov.

Quibus Scipio; Etai non induciarum modo fides, sed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum esset; tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse.—Liv. l. xxx n. 25

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO, IN AFRICA,  
FOLLOWED BY A BATTLE.

THESE two generals, who were not only the most illustrious of their own age, but worthy of being ranked with the most renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, meeting at the place appointed, maintained for some time a deep silence, as though they were astonished, and struck with mutual admiration at the sight of each other.<sup>1</sup> At last Hannibal spoke; and, after having praised Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively description of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him not to suffer himself to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. He represented to him, that however successful he might have hitherto been, he ought to tremble at the inconstancy of fortune: that without going far back for examples, he himself, who was then speaking to him, was a glaring proof of this: that Scipio was at that time what himself, Hannibal, had been at Thrasymene and Cannæ: that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than himself had done, and consent to peace, now when it was in his power to propose the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans. That they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa; while they should see the Romans extending their conquests in the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio answered in a few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed to them only, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he gave him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions that had been already proposed; to which, he observed, some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail upon himself to accept these conditions, and the generals separated with the resolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented to his soldiers, the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the tacit confession their enemies themselves made of their weakness, by thus coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke with the tone and air of a conqueror.<sup>2</sup> Never were motives more calculated to excite troops to behave valiantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals, and to decide whether Rome or Carthage should prescribe laws to all other nations.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3303. A. Rome, 547. Polyb. l. xv. p. 694—703. Liv. l. xxx. n. 29, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Celsus hæc corpore, vultaque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat.*—Liv. l. xxx. n. 32.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose, that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving twenty thousand men on the field of battle, and the like number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left, but to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his capacity in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving his orders in the engagement; and affirmed, that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although fortune had not answered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of his victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, and prepared in person to conduct the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive-branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors to implore his clemency. He however dismissed them without making any answer, and bid them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, being thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council, the majority of which was for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before a city so strongly fortified could be taken, and Scipio's fears that a successor to him might be appointed while he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

#### A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND THE ROMANS. THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

THE conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were, "that the Carthaginians were to continue free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war;" that they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and captives belonging to them; all their ships, except ten triremes; all their tame elephants, and that they should not train up any more for war; that they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave for that purpose from the Roman people; should restore to Masinissa all they had taken from him or his ancestors; should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome; should pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic talents<sup>2</sup> of sil-

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. xv. p. 704—707. Liv. l. xxx. n. 36—44.

<sup>2</sup> Ten thousand Attic talents make thirty millions French money. Ten thousand Euboic talents make something more than twenty-eight millions, thirty-three thousand livres; be-

ver, in fifty annual payments; and give a hundred hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, it was agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that they should restore the ships taken during the former war, without which they were not to expect either a truce or a peace."

When the deputies returned to Carthage, they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisco, that rising up, he made a speech, in order to dissuade the citizens from accepting a peace on such shameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisco by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city like Carthage, raised an universal murmur. Hannibal was vexed with himself when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. "As I left," says he, "your city at nine years of age, and did not return to it till after thirty-six years absence, I had full leisure to learn the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in them. As for your laws and customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I therefore desire you to instruct me in them." He then expatiated on the necessity they were under of concluding peace. He added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on these conditions. He urged on them the importance of their uniting in opinion, and of not giving an opportunity, by their divisions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came over to his opinion, and accordingly the peace was accepted. The senate made Scipio satisfaction with regard to the ships demanded by him, and after obtaining a truce for three months, sent ambassadors to Rome.

These Carthaginians, who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to an audience. Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, spoke first: and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of some particular persons, he added, that had the Carthaginians listened to his counsels and those of Hanno, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now were obliged to sue. "But," continued he, "wisdom and prosperity are very rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, because they never suffered themselves to be blinded by good fortune. And it would be surprising should they act otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new and unusual, whereas the Romans are so much

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cause, according to Budæus, the Euboic talent is equivalent but to fifty-six Minæ and something more, whereas the Attic talent is worth sixty Minæ.

Or otherwise thus calculated in English money :

|                                                |                |              |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| According to Budæus, the Euboic talent is..... | 56 Minæ.       |              |
| 56 Minæ reduced to English money .....         | £175, or       | \$777.       |
| Consequently 10,000 Euboic talents make .....  | £1,750,000, or | \$7,770,000. |
| So that the Carthaginians paid annually .....  | £35,000, or    | \$155,400.   |

This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought, the Euboic talent being something more than 56 Minæ.

accustomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the charms of victory; and it may be said for their glory, that they have extended their empire, in some measure, more by the humanity they have shown to the conquered, than by conquest itself."<sup>1</sup> The other ambassadors spoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and represented the calamitous state to which Carthage was about to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which she had fallen.

The senate and people, being equally inclined to peace, sent full powers to Scipio to conclude it, left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to march back his army, after the treaty should be ratified.

The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city to redeem some of their prisoners, and they found about two hundred whom they desired to ransom. But the senate sent them to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored without any pecuniary consideration, in case a peace should be concluded.

The Carthaginians, on the return of the ambassadors, concluded a peace with Scipio on the terms he himself had prescribed. They then delivered up to him more than five hundred ships, all which he burnt in the sight of Carthage; a lamentable sight to the inhabitants of that ill-fated city! He struck off the heads of the allies of the Latin name, and hanged all the citizens who were surrendered to him, as deserters.

When the time for the payment of the first tax imposed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the government were exhausted by this long and expensive war, the difficulty which would be found in levying so great a sum, threw the senate into a melancholy silence, and many could not refrain even from tears. It is said, that at this Hannibal laughed, and when reproached by Asdrubal Hædus, for thus insulting his country in the affliction which he had brought upon it, "were it possible," says Hannibal, "for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my countenance, you would then find that this laughter, which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But is this laughter more unseasonable than your unbecoming tears? Then, ought you to have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken from you, your ships burned, and you were forbidden to engage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal blow which laid us prostrate. We are sensible of the public calamity so far only as we have a personal concern in it, and the loss of our money gives us the most poignant sorrow. Hence it was, that when our city was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh was heard. But now, when you are called on for a poll-tax, you weep and lament, as if all were lost. Alas! I only wish that the subject

<sup>1</sup> *Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum esse invictum esse, quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminerit. Et hercule mirandum fulsee a aliter facerent. Ex insolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna sit, impotentes lætitiæ insensire; populo Romano unitata ac prope obsoleta ex victoria gaudia esse; no plus pœni par eendo victis, quam vincendo, imperium auxisse.—Liv. l. xxx. c. 42.*

of this day's fear do not soon appear to you the least of your misfortunes."

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome through crowds of people, whom curiosity had drawn together to behold his march. The most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him, and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon that great man; an honour till then unknown, no person before having assumed the name of a vanquished nation. Such was the conclusion of the second Punic war, after having lasted seventeen years.<sup>1</sup>

#### A SHORT REFLECTION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE, IN THE TIME OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

I SHALL conclude the particulars which relate to the second Punic war, with a reflection of Polybius, which will show the difference between the two commonwealths.<sup>2</sup> It may be affirmed, in some measure, that at the beginning of the second Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its sprightly vigour, were already diminished. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin; whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and strength of life, and rapidly advancing to the conquest of the universe. The reason of the declension of the one, and the rise of the other, is taken by Polybius from the different form of government established in these commonwealths, at the time we are now speaking of. At Carthage, the common people had seized upon the sovereign authority with regard to public affairs, and the advice of their ancient men, or magistrates, was no longer listened to; all affairs were transacted by intrigue and cabal. Not to mention the artifices which the faction opposed to Hannibal employed, during the whole time of his command, to perplex him; the single instance of burning the Roman vessels during a truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the senate to lend their name and assistance, is a proof of Polybius' assertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the highest regard to their senate, that is, to a body composed of the greatest sages; and their old men were listened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and especially in that part of it which related to the election of magistrates.<sup>3</sup> A century of young men, who by lot were to give the first vote, which generally directed all the rest, had nominated two consuls. On the bare remonstrance of Fabius,<sup>4</sup> who represented to the people, that in a tempest, like that with which Rome was then struggling, the most able pilots ought to be chosen to steer their common ship, the republic; the century re-

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3804. A. Carth. 646. A. Rome, 548. Ant. J. C. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. vi. p. 493, 494.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. n. 3, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Quilibet nautarum rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest; ubi æva orta tempestas est, ac tur bato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore spes est. Non tranquillo navigamus, sed jam aut quot procellis submersi pene sumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat summa cura providendum ac præ cavendum nobis est.

turned to their suffrages, and nominated other consuls. Polybius, from this disparity of government, infers that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a state which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And indeed, the Romans, under the guidance of the wise counsels of their senate, gained at last the superiority with regard to the war considered in general, though they were defeated in several particular engagements, and established their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

#### THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WAR.

THE events relating to Carthage during this period, are not very remarkable, although it includes more than fifty years. They may be reduced to two heads, one of which relates to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians. We shall treat both separately, but not extensively.

#### SECTION I.—CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF HANNIBAL.

WHEN the second Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himself observed in the Carthaginian senate, was forty-five years of age. What we have further to say of this great man, includes the space of twenty-five years.

#### HANNIBAL UNDERTAKES AND COMPLETES THE REFORMATION OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE, AND THE TREASURY OF CARTHAGE.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal, at least in the beginning, was greatly respected in Carthage, where he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. He headed the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans: but the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneasiness, discontented at seeing him in arms, made complaints on that account, and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

On his return he was appointed prætor, which seems to have been a very considerable employment, as well as of great authority.<sup>2</sup> Carthage is therefore, with regard to him, becoming a new theatre, as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desiring to restore the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded, that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to the people in general, and a faithful management of the public finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives and properties, unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear

<sup>1</sup> Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3810. A. Rome, 554.

and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state, keeps in reserve a never-failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burdened with new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an aversion for government.

Hannibal saw with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneasy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to use his utmost endeavours for its restoration, he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, which drew after it a numberless multitude of others, without dreading the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily create.

The judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity.<sup>1</sup> They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens, without there being the least possibility of putting a stop to their injustice. Because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. Livy tells us that he was a quæstor. This officer, who was in the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had already assumed all the pride and haughtiness of the judges among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly, he caused him to be seized by a licitor, and brought before the assembly of the people. There, not satisfied with levelling his resentment against this single officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges; whose insupportable and tyrannical pride was not restrained, either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. And, as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleasure, and that the lowest and most inconsiderable of the people discovered on this occasion that they were no longer able to bear the insolent pride of these judges, who seemed to have a design upon their liberties; he proposed a law, which accordingly passed, by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it acquired him the friendship and esteem of the people, drew upon him proportionably the hatred of the greatest part of the grandees and nobility.

He attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour.<sup>2</sup> The public revenues were either squandered away by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magistrates; so that money being wanted to pay the annual tribute due to

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.



the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entering into a full detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate to be laid before him, inquired in what manner they had been applied to the employments and ordinary expenses of the state; and having discovered by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them, he declared and promised, in a full assembly of the people, that without laying any new taxes upon individuals, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute due to the Romans; and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the revenues, whose plunder and rapine he had publicly detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, exclaimed vehemently against these regulations, as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the sums of which they had defrauded the public.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE RETREAT AND DEATH OF HANNIBAL.

THIS double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal.<sup>2</sup> His enemies were writing incessantly to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them, that he was carrying on a secret correspondence with Antiochus, king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately despatched agents to Hannibal, to concert with him measures for carrying on the war he was meditating; that as some animals are so extremely fierce, that it is impossible ever to tame them; in like manner, this man was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit, that he could not brook ease, and therefore would, sooner or later, break out again. These informations were listened to at Rome; and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio strongly opposed the violent measures which the senate were about to take on their receiving this intelligence, by representing it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to pursue him even to the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But, notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissions to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other things were speciously pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly sensible that he only was the object. The evening being come, he conveyed himself on board a ship, which he had secretly provided for that purpose; on which occasion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own.

<sup>1</sup> Tum vero isti quos paverat per aliquot annos publicis peculatus, velut bonis crepitis, non furto eorum manibus extorto, inani et irati, Romanos in Annibalem, et ipse causas omnes querentes, instigabant.—Liv.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 45—49.

*Scipius patriæ quam suos eventus miseratus.* This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace. The first place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his second country, and had all the honours paid him which were due to his exalted merit. After staying some days here, he set out for Antioch, which the king had lately left, and from thence waited upon him at Ephesus.<sup>1</sup> The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king; and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war against Rome; for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. In this city a philosopher, who was looked upon as the greatest orator of Asia, had the imprudence to harangue before Hannibal, on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art.<sup>2</sup> The speech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal, being asked his opinion of it, "I have seen," says he, "many old dotards in my life, but this exceeds them all."<sup>3</sup>

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, sent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus.<sup>4</sup> The Romans were very much disturbed at this news, and the king might have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it.

The first counsel that Hannibal gave him at this time, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the seat of war.<sup>5</sup> He required a hundred ships, eleven or twelve thousand land-forces, and offered to take upon himself the command of the fleet; to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war; and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy, during which the king himself should be ready to cross over with his army into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king very much approved the proposal at first.

Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his friends at Carthage, in order to engage them the more strongly in his interest.<sup>6</sup> The communication by letters is not only unsafe, but also gives an imperfect idea of things, and is never sufficiently particular. He therefore despatched a trusty person with ample instructions to Carthage. This man had no sooner arrived in the city, than his business was suspected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed; and at last orders were issued for his being seized. He, however, prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed, in several public places, papers, which fully declared the occasion of his coming among them. The senate immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3812. A. Rome, 556.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Hic Pœnus libere respondiisse fertur, multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse: sed qui magis quam Phœnio deliraret vidisse neminem. Stobæus, Serm. lii. gives the following account of this matter: 'Αγρίλλος δεικνύσας Ερωϊάδην τίνας διχημαδόντες: οὗτις δ' εὐφρόδης μέγας στρατηγὸς ἰστίων, ἑυθιᾶσαι, νεπιζῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀναίς ἐκτός τῆς δι' ἑργῶν ἀπειρίας τῶν ἐν νεότητι ἐπισημῶν ἔχων. i. e. Hannibal, hearing a Stoic philosopher undertake to prove that the wise man was the only general, laughed, as thinking it impossible for a man to have any skill in war, without being long practised in it.

<sup>4</sup> They did more, for they sent two ships to pursue Hannibal, and bring him back; they sold off his goods, razed his house, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians showed to the greatest general they ever had.—Corn. Nep. in Vita Annib. c. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. n. 61.

Villius, one of the deputies who had been sent into Asia, to inquire into the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Ephesus.<sup>1</sup> He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to show him a particular esteem on all occasions. But his chief aim, by all this artificial behaviour, was to make him be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which he succeeded but too well.<sup>2</sup>

Some authors affirm, that Scipio was joined in this embassy; and they even relate the conversation which that general had with Hannibal.<sup>3</sup> They tell us that the Romans having asked him, who, in his opinion, was the greatest captain that had ever lived; he answered, Alexander the Great, because, with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberless armies, and carried his conquests into countries so very remote, that it seemed scarcely possible for any man only to travel so far. Being afterwards asked, to whom he gave the second rank, he answered, to Pyrrhus; for this king, says Hannibal, first understood the art of pitching a camp to advantage; no commander had ever made a more judicious choice of his posts, was better skilled in drawing up his forces, or was more happy in winning the affection of foreign soldiers; insomuch that even the people of Italy were more desirous to have him for their governor than the Romans themselves, though they had so long been subject to them. Scipio proceeding, asked him next, whom he looked upon as the third captain; on which decision Hannibal made no scruple to give the preference to himself. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing: "but what would you have said," continued Scipio, "had you conquered me?"—"I would," replied Hannibal, "have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced." Scipio was not insensible to so refined and delicate a flattery, which he by no means expected; and which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him.

The answer, as told by Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> is less witty, and not so probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and himself the third.

Hannibal, sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him ever since his conferences with Villius or Scipio, took no notice of it for some time, and seemed insensible of it. But at last he thought it advisable to come to an explanation with the king, and to open his mind freely to him, "the hatred," says he, "which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It was this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It was that, even in times of peace, which drove me from my native country, and

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3813. A. Rome, 557. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius represents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated design, in order to render him suspected to Antiochus, because of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair succeeded as if it had been designed; but, at the same time, he gives, for a very obvious reason, another turn to this conversation, and says that no more was intended by it than to sound Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. l. xxxv. n. 24. Plutarch in Vita Flamin., &c.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Pyrrho, p. 687.

forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by the same passion, should my hopes be eluded, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So long as you shall continue in the resolution to take up arms against that people, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you once for all, address yourself to others for counsel, and not to me." Such a speech, which came from his heart, and expressed the greatest sincerity, struck the king, and seemed to remove all his suspicions; so that he now resolved to give Hannibal command of part of his fleet.<sup>1</sup>

But, what mischief is beyond the power of flattery to produce in courts, and in the minds of princes? Antiochus was told, "that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, an exile, a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might suggest, in one day, a thousand different projects to him; that besides, this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another; that none but the king ought to be the general and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself only the eyes and attention of all men; whereas, should Hannibal be employed, he, a foreigner, would have the glory of all victories ascribed to him."<sup>2</sup> *No minds, says Livy, on the occasion, are more susceptible of envy than those whose merit is below their birth and dignity; such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others, for this reason only, because they are strange and foreign in themselves.*<sup>3</sup> This observation was fully verified on this occasion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak side; a low and sordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristic of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now slighted and laid aside; he, however, was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill success this prince met with, who showed how unfortunate that king is, whose soul is accessible to envy, and his ears open to the poisonous insinuations of flatterers.

In a council held some time after, to which Hannibal, for form's sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be invited into the alliance of Antiochus, which was not so difficult as might be imagined. "With regard," says Hannibal, "to the operations of the war, I adhere immoveably to my first opinion; and had any counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame, had Hannibal, a name that strikes terror into the Romans, been in Italy. Though I should not be very well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill success I have met with, must necessarily have taught me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the Romans. I have nothing now in my power, but to give you my

<sup>1</sup> Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxxv. n. 42, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt, quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam animis non sequam: quia virtutem et bonum alienum oderunt.

counsel, and offer you my service. May the gods give success to all your undertakings." Hannibal's speech was received with applause, but not one of his counsels were put in execution.<sup>1</sup>

Antiochus, imposed upon and lulled to sleep by his flatterers, remained quiet at Ephesus, after the Romans had driven him out of Greece; not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions.<sup>2</sup> Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was for ever assuring him, that the war would soon be removed into Asia, and that he would see the enemy at his gates; that he must resolve either to abdicate his throne, or vigorously oppose a people who grasped at the empire of the world. This discourse waked, in some measure, the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to make some weak efforts. But, as his conduct was unsteady, after sustaining a great many considerable losses, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace; one of the articles of which was, that he should deliver up Hannibal to the Romans. The latter, however, did not give him an opportunity to put it in execution, retiring to the island of Crete, to consider there what course would be best for him to take.

The riches he had brought with him, of which the people of the island had got some notice, had liked to have proved his ruin.<sup>3</sup> Hannibal was never wanting in stratagems, and he had occasion to employ them now, to save both himself and his treasure. He filled several vessels with molten lead, which he just covered with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of Diana, in presence of several Cretans, to whose honesty, he said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then posted on the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass,<sup>4</sup> which he always carried along with him. And then, embracing a favourable opportunity he had of making his escape, he fled to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia.<sup>5</sup>

It appears from history, that he made some stay in the court of this prince, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By the aid of Hannibal, the troops of king Prusias gained several victories by land and sea.

He employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a sea fight.<sup>6</sup> The enemy's fleet consisting of more ships than his, he had recourse to artifice. He put into earthen vessels all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim in this was to destroy Eumenes, and for that purpose it was necessary for him to find out which ship he was on board of. This Hannibal discovered, by sending out a boat, upon pretence of conveying a letter to him. Having gained his point thus far, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to direct the greatest force of their attacks against Eumenes' ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 9, 10. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

<sup>4</sup> These statues were thrown out by him, in a place of public resort, as a thing of little value. --Corn. Nep.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3820. A. Rome, 564. Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Annib.

he not outsailed his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them. But seeing themselves surrounded with serpents which flew out of these vessels when they broke to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

Services of so important a nature seemed to secure for ever to Hannibal an undisturbed asylum at that prince's court. The Romans, however, would not suffer him to be easy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Prusias, to complain of the protection he gave Hannibal.<sup>1</sup> The latter readily conjectured the motive of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At first he attempted to secure himself by flight, but perceiving that the seven secret outlets which he had contrived in his palace were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by this perfidy, was desirous of making his court to the Romans, he ordered the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion, to be brought him; and, taking it in his hand, "let us," said he, "free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have been so long tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains over a naked and betrayed man, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to desire he would beware of a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to instigate Prusias impiously to murder one who is not only his friend, but his guest." After calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison, and died at seventy years of age.<sup>2</sup>

This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopœmen, and Scipio, who it is worthy of notice all died out of their native countries, in a manner far from corresponding to the glory of their actions. The two first died by poison: Hannibal was betrayed by his host; and Philopœmen being taken prisoner in a battle against the Messinians, and thrown into a dungeon, was forced to swallow a dose of poison. As to Scipio, he banished himself, to avoid an unjust prosecution which was carrying on against him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obscurity.

#### THE CHARACTER AND EULOGIUM OF HANNIBAL.

THIS would be the proper place for representing the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected so much glory on Carthage. But, as

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3822. A. Rome, 566. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, according to his custom, assigns him three different deaths. Some, says he, relate, that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his servant to fix his knees against his buttocks, and not to leave twisting till he had strangled him. Others say, that in imitation of Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal drank a poison which he always carried about him; and taking the cup into his hand, cried, "Let us free," &c.—In Vita Flamini.

I have attempted to draw his character elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and to give a just idea of him, by making a comparison between him and Scipio, I think it unnecessary to give his eulogium at large in this place.

Persons who devote themselves to the profession of arms, cannot spend too much time in the study of this great man, who is looked upon, by the best judges, as the most complete general, in almost every respect, that ever the world produced.

During the whole seventeen years, (the time the war lasted,) two errors only are objected to him; first, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, his victorious army to Rome, in order to besiege that city; secondly, his suffering their courage to be softened and enervated, during their winter-quarters in Capua; errors, which only show that great men are not so in all things, *summi enim sunt homines tamen*;<sup>2</sup> and which, perhaps, may be partly excused.

But then, for these two errors, what a multitude of shining qualities appear in Hannibal! How extensive were his views and designs, even in his most tender years! What greatness of soul! what intrepidity! what presence of mind must he have possessed, even in the fire and heat of action, to take all advantages! With what surprising address must he have managed the minds of men, that amidst so great a variety of nations as composed his army, who often were in want both of money and provisions, his camp was not once disturbed with an insurrection, either against himself or any of his generals! With what equity, what moderation, must he have behaved towards his new allies, to have prevailed so far, as to attach them inviolably to his service, though he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their several countries! In fine, how fruitful must he have been in expedients, to be able to carry on, for so many years, the war in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful domestic faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions! It may be affirmed, that Hannibal, during the whole series of this war, seemed the only prop of the state, and the soul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who could never believe themselves conquered, till Hannibal confessed that he himself was so.

But that man must know the character of Hannibal very imperfectly, who should consider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from history, concerning the secret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedon; the wise counsels he gave to Antiochus, king of Syria; the double regulation he introduced in Carthage, with regard to the management of the public revenues and the administration of justice, prove that he was a great statesman in every respect. So superior and universal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government; and so great were his natural abilities, that he was capable of acquitting himself in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field; equally able to fill civil or military employments. In a word, he united in his

own person the different talents and merits of all professions, the sword, the gown, and the finances.

He had some learning; and though he was so much employed in military labours, and engaged in so many wars, he, however, found leisure to cultivate the muses.<sup>1</sup> Several smart repartees of Hannibal, which have been transmitted to us, show that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved, by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, in such a republic as Carthage. He spoke Greek tolerably well, and wrote several books in that language. His preceptor was a Lacedæmonian, (Solsius,) who, with Philenius, another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both these undertook to write the history of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was not so profligate and wicked as he is represented by Livy; "cruel even to inhumanity; more perfidious than a Carthaginian; regardless of truth, of probity, of the sacred ties of oaths; fearless of the gods, and utterly void of religion." *Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia, plusquam Punica: nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jus jurandum, nulla religio.*<sup>2</sup> According to Polybius, he rejected a barbarous proposal that was made to him, before he entered Italy, of eating human flesh, at a time when his army was in absolute want of provisions.<sup>3</sup> Some years after, so far from treating with barbarity, as he was advised to do, the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus, which Mago had sent him, he caused his funeral obsequies to be solemnized in presence of the whole army.<sup>4</sup> We have seen him on many occasions, showing the highest reverence for the gods; and Justin, who copied Trogus Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, observes that he always showed uncommon wisdom and continence, with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the course of so long a war; insomuch, that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country. *Pudicitiamque euntantum inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.*<sup>5</sup>

His disregard of wealth at a time when he had so many opportunities to enrich himself, by the plunder of the cities he stormed, and the nations he subdued, shows, that he knew the true and genuine use which a general ought to make of riches, viz., to gain the affection of his soldiers, and to attach allies to his interest, by diffusing his beneficence on proper occasions, and not being sparing in his rewards; a very essential quality, but very uncommon in a commander. The only use Hannibal made of money was to purchase success; firmly persuaded, that a man who is at the head of affairs is sufficiently recompensed by the glory derived from victory.

He always led a very regular, austere life; and even in times of peace, and in the midst of Carthage, when he was invested with the first dignity of the city, we are told that he never used to recline himself on a bed at meals, as was the custom in those ages, and drank but

<sup>1</sup> Atque hic tantus vir, tantisque bellis distractus, nonnihil temporis tribuit litteris, &c.--Corn. Nep. in Vita Annib. cap. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxi. n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Excerpt. e Diod. p. 282. Liv. l. xxv. n. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. xxxii. c. 4.



very little wine.<sup>1</sup> So regular and uniform a life may serve as an illustrious example to our commanders, who often include among the privileges of war, and the duty of officers, the keeping of splendid tables, and luxurious living.

But, notwithstanding these eulogiums, I do not, however, pretend to justify entirely all the errors and defects with which Hannibal is charged. Though he possessed an assemblage of the most exalted qualities, it cannot be denied that he had some little tincture of the vices of his country; and that it would be difficult to excuse some actions and circumstances of his life. Polybius observes, that Hannibal was accused of avarice in Carthage, and of cruelty in Rome.<sup>2</sup> He adds, on the same occasion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himself so many enemies in both cities, that they should have drawn him in disadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it should be taken for granted, that all the defects with which he is charged are true, we yet ought to conclude, that they were not so much owing to his nature and disposition, as to the difficulties with which he was surrounded in the course of so long and laborious a war; and to the complacency he was obliged to show to the general officers, whose assistance he absolutely wanted for the execution of his various enterprises; and whom he was not always able to restrain, any more than he could the soldiers who fought under them.

#### SECTION II.—DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND MASINISSA, KING OF NUMIDIA.

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which imported, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had shown with regard to the Romans, had also added to his dominions those of Syphax. This presently afterwards gave rise to disputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The subjects of Syphax were called Massesuli, and their capital was Cirtha. Those of Masinissa were the Massyli; but both these nations are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. They always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles, whence Virgil called them *Numidæ infræni*.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning of the second Punic war, Syphax adhering to the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, thought it his interest to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly sent out against Syphax a powerful army, under the

<sup>1</sup> Cibi potitionisque, desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 4. Constat Annibalem nec tum cum Romano tonantem bello Italia contremuit, nec cum reverentibus Carthaginem summum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cœnasse, aut plus quam sextarius vini indulisse.—Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 34, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Æn. l. i. c. ver. 41.

conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age.<sup>1</sup> Syphax being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost thirty thousand men, escaped into Mauritania. The face of things, however, was afterwards greatly changed.

Masinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being driven from his kingdom by an usurper; closely pursued by Syphax; in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies; and destitute of forces, money, and almost every thing.<sup>2</sup> He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time was inviolably attached to the Roman interest.<sup>3</sup> Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

The fortune of these two princes now underwent a final change.<sup>4</sup> Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field, in the charms and endearments of Sophonisba, which he was unable to resist. To secure this princess to himself he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as a nuptial present; this being the only way left him to keep his promise with his queen, and preserve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a great fault in itself, and must necessarily have disobligered a nation that was so jealous of its authority: but this young prince repaired it gloriously by the signal services he afterwards rendered Scipio. We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all he possessed before.<sup>5</sup> This gave rise to the divisions we are now about to relate.

A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the Lesser Syrtis, was the subject of those contests.<sup>6</sup> The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful; a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis only, which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side despatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cause of their superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, and left the business in the same uncertain state in which they had found it. Possibly they acted in this manner by order of the senate, and had received private instructions to favour Masinissa, who was then possessed of the district in question.

Ten years after, new commissioners having been appointed to

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. n. 48, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxix. n. 29—34.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. l. xxix. n. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. l. xxx. n. 11, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. l. xxx. n. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

exam.ne the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.<sup>1</sup>

After the like distance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint to the senate, but with greater importunity than before.<sup>2</sup> They represented, that besides the territories at first in dispute, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles: that their hands were bound up by the article of the last treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans; that they could no longer bear the insolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince; that they were deputed to Rome with three requests, which they desired might be immediately complied with, viz. either to get orders to have the affair examined and decided by the senate; or, secondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themselves by arms; or, lastly, that if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be vested in Masinissa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would have some regard to them, at a time when this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions, than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if the Carthaginians had been guilty of any crimes with regard to them, since the conclusion of the last peace, that they themselves would punish them for it; and not give them up to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, being pierced with grief, they fell prostrate upon the earth, and burst into tears; a scene that moved all who were present to compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa. Gulussa, his son, who was then present, being asked what he had to reply, answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect, that the circumstance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to them. The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to that party to whom it was due; that Gulussa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who thereby was commanded to send deputies with those of Carthage; that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians; that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians dispossessed, during the peace, of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents.

All these assurances, however, were but mere words. It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3823. A. Rome, 567. Liv. l. xl. n. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3833. A. Rome, 577. Liv. l. xlii. n. 23, 24

or do them the least justice; and that they protracted the business on purpose to give Masinissa an opportunity to establish himself in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.<sup>1</sup>

A new deputation was sent to examine the affair upon the spot, and Cato was one of the commissioners.<sup>2</sup> On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masinissa readily complied. The Carthaginians answered, that they had a fixed rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded with Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They therefore could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage; and they were surprised to see it, after being involved in such a calamity, again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The senate was told of this, immediately on the return of the deputies; and declared that Rome could never be in safety, so long as Carthage should subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, *I conclude that Carthage ought to be destroyed*. This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove, that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state is a sufficient cause for destroying a city, contrary to the faith of treaties. But Scipio Nasica was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; because the Romans, having no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners, and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the never-failing subvertives of the most flourishing empires.

In the meantime, divisions broke out in Carthage.<sup>3</sup> The popular faction, having now become superior to that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment; and bound the people by an oath, never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who despatched Gulussa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their return. But the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave rise to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spectator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus in Spain, under whom Scipio then fought, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill, and was surprised to see Masinissa, then eighty-eight years of age, mounted, agreeably to the custom of his country, on a horse without a saddle, flying from rank to rank, like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued all day, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio used to say afterwards, that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as this; having never before beheld so formidable an army engage, with-

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. p. 951.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3848. A. Rome, 592. App. de Bell. Pun. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> App. p. 88.

out any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had been spectators of such an action, viz.: Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the sight of a hundred thousand men, (the number engaged,) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure, or whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity, so natural to mankind.

The Carthaginians, after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their contests with Masinissa.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians consented to relinquish the territory of Emporium,<sup>2</sup> which had been the first cause of their division; to pay Masinissa two hundred talents of silver down, and eight hundred more at such times as should be agreed on. But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants for which he had been sent.

The king, immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, where neither troops nor provisions could come to them.<sup>3</sup> During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, in case the king should be defeated, otherwise to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the strongest assurances of the continuation of their friendship, which they did. In the meantime, the famine daily increased in the enemy's camp, which, being heightened by the plague, occasioned a new calamity, and made dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him five thousand talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oaths to the contrary. They all submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke,<sup>4</sup> and were dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. Gulussa, to satiate his vengeance for the ill treatment which we before observed he had met with, sent out against them a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakness, they could neither escape nor resist; so that, of fifty-eight thousand men, very few returned to Carthage.

#### ARTICLE III.—THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

THE third Punic war, which was less considerable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatness of the battles, and

<sup>1</sup> App. de Bell. Pun. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polybius, l. i., says, that the revenue that arose from this place was so considerable, that all their hopes were almost founded on it, &c. viz.: their revenues from Emporia, *εἰς τὰς μείζονας ἐλπίδας*. To this was owing their care and state-jealousy above mentioned, lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

<sup>3</sup> App. de Bell. Pun. p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Ils furent tous passés sous le joug;—sub jugum missi. A kind of gallows, made by two forked sticks standing upright, was erected, and a spear laid across, under which vanquished enemies were obliged to pass.—Festus.

its continuance, which was only four years, was still more remarkable with respect to the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants from their last defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom they had always met with the most rigorous treatment, after they had addressed them upon their disputes with Masinissa.<sup>2</sup> To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war against the king of Numidia.<sup>3</sup> They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection, and being seized with the strongest terrors, upon recollecting their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themselves all the dismal consequences of a long siege, and a city taken by the sword.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime, the senate debated at Rome, on the measures it would be proper for them to take, and the disputes between Cato and Scipio Nasica, who were of quite different opinions on this subject, were renewed.<sup>5</sup> The former, on his return from Africa, had declared, in the strongest terms, that he had not found Carthage exhausted of men or money, nor in so weak and humble a state as the Romans supposed it to be; but on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and silver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike stores; and was so haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is farther said, that after he had ended his speech, he threw out of the fold of his robe into the midst of the senate, some African figs, and as the senators admired their beauty and size, *Know*, says he, *that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us.*<sup>6</sup>

Cato and Nasica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did.<sup>7</sup> Nasica, observing that the people rose to such a height of insolence, as threw them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which their senate itself was not able to check; and that their power had become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad design they might undertake, was desirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, as a curb to restrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, and at the same time so powerful, that it was not for the interest of the Romans to consider them in a contemptible light. With regard to

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3855. A. Carth. 697. A. Rome, 599. Ant. J. C. 149.    <sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 41, 42.

<sup>3</sup> The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their respective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian, Βονθαρχος.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in vita Cat. p. 262.    <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 352.    <sup>6</sup> Plin. l. xv. c. 18.    <sup>7</sup> Plut. ibid in vita Cat

Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into dissipation of every kind, nothing could be more dangerous than for it to have a rival city, to whom the Romans were odious; a city that, till now, had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortune, more wise and provident than ever, and therefore that it would not be safe to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power, since they had within their own walls all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interests of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage;<sup>1</sup> that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared openly, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, all orders of the republic; that senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions, abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without having the least regard to, or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. “The first Scipio,”<sup>2</sup> says Paternus, speaking of the Romans, “had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, had opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once beyond all conception.”

Be this as it may, the senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons, or pretences, urged for it, were their keeping up ships, contrary to the tenor of treaties; their sending an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.<sup>3</sup>

An event that by chance occurred very fortunately while the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtless, very much to make them take that resolution.<sup>4</sup> This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender themselves, their effects, their territories, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had an equally spacious and commodious port; it stood within sixty furlongs of Carthage, so

<sup>1</sup> Ubi Carthago, et semula imperii Romani ab stirpe interit, Fortuna cœvire ac miscere omnia cepit.—Sallust. in Bell. Catilin.

Ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Kemp. tractabant.—Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formide illa mentibus decessit, illiœt ea quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessera.—Sallust. in Bello Jugurthino.

<sup>2</sup> Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii semula, non gradu sed præcipiti cursu a virtute Ascitum, ad vita transcursum.—Vel. Patern. l. ii. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> App. p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3856. A. Rome, 600. App. Bell. Pun. p. 42.

that it might serve as a depot of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius, and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were four-score thousand foot, and about four thousand horse.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome.<sup>1</sup> The answer brought back by their deputies had only increased their fears, viz.: *It was the business of the Carthaginians to consider what satisfaction was due to the Romans.* This made them not know what course to take. At last they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see proper; and even, what the former wars could never make them stoop to, to declare that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and power of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the power of the Romans, and becoming their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; as the Uticans had been before-hand with them on that occasion, and had thus deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was set out. The Romans had despatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate, and to inform that city that the Roman fleet had sailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that, within the space of thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybæum, three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety: but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpose. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians; but the silence of the Romans with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people were willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. All they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Masi-

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.



nissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.<sup>1</sup>

They did not think proper to wait till the thirty days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately sent their hostages, in order to soften the enemy by the readiness of their obedience, though they could by no means flatter themselves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were in a manner the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was there a more moving scene; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing seen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations! But, above all, the unhappy mothers, bathed in tears, tore their dishevelled hair, beat their breasts, and, as grief and despair had distracted them, cried out in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage breasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their separation arrived; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ship, they bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more; they wept a flood of tears over them; embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breasts. The hostages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

In such a situation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, presents to the mind the blackest scenes of misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp, signifying that they were come, in the name of the republic, to receive the commands which they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the sad condition to which he was reducing them, at a time when Asdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almost to their gates, with an army of twenty thousand men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would set that matter right.<sup>2</sup>

This order was immediately put in execution.<sup>3</sup> There arrived in the camp a long train of wagons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage; two hundred thousand complete sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with two thousand engines for shooting darts and stones.<sup>4</sup> Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the most venerable senators and priests, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was about to be pronounced, and

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. p. 975. Appian, p. 44—46.

<sup>4</sup> Balistæ, or Catapultæ.

their fate would be irrevocable. Censorinus, the consul, for it was he who spoke all this time, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them, but suddenly assuming a grave and severe countenance, "I cannot," says he, "but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions, as you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eight stadia<sup>1</sup> from the sea."

The instant the consul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderstruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise, than in broken sighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice with regard to a people who would soon be reduced to the extremity of despair. But, as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations, bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were such beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far as to get the execution of this order suspended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to get it revoked if possible. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.<sup>2</sup>

The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express. It was scarcely possible for them to break through the crowd, that flocked around them, to hear the answer, which was but too strongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their too lamentable fate; and, from that instant, nothing was seen nor heard, in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.<sup>3</sup>

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is to be regretted that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should end exactly in the most affecting part of this event. I should set a much higher value on one short reflection of so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and the consul. I can never believe that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceeding of the Romans on the present occasion. We do not here discover, in my opinion, any of the characteristics which distin-

<sup>1</sup> Four leagues, or twelve miles.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 46—58.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, p. 53, 54.

guished them anciently; that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman character; *Minime Romanis artibus*. Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty, a most solemn and sacred thing, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word *city* in this treaty, the black design of destroying Carthage; as if, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their last declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands? Is it not manifest that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terror to the Romans, and that they were persuaded they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power as may enable one to commit injustice with impunity, and with the prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans, differs widely from what was practised here. These people, says he, far from using artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies; considering only those victories solid and glorious, which were obtained sword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns, in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans but very faint traces of the former generosity of their ancestors; and he thinks it incumbent on him, as he declares, to make this remark, in opposition to a maxim which had grown very common in his time, among persons in the administration of governments, who imagined that honesty is inconsistent with good policy, and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on some occasions.<sup>1</sup>

I now return to my subject. The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage, not suspecting they had reason to be under any apprehensions from that city, as it was now disarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themselves in a posture of defence, being unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thousand men, and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops within the walls was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. xvii. p. 671, 672.

themselves to making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. A hundred and forty shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes or javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them, were made daily; and, there being a deficiency of materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans, because, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their design, which circumstance caused some coldness between them.<sup>2</sup>

During this interval, the consuls were advancing towards the city, in order to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the besieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were continually making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, was then a tribune in the army, and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence than by his bravery. The consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights, by refusing to follow his advice. This young officer extricated the troops from several dangers into which their imprudent leaders had plunged them. Phamæas, a celebrated general of the enemy's cavalry, who continually harassed the foragers, did not dare even to keep the field when it was Scipio's turn to support them; so capable was he of directing his troops, and posting himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation excited some envy against him in the beginning; but, as he behaved in all respects with the utmost modesty and reserve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; so that, when the senate sent deputies to the camp to inquire into the state of the siege, the whole army gave him unanimously the highest commendations; the soldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, extolled the merit of young Scipio; so necessary is it for a man to soften, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendour of his rising glory, by a mild and modest deportment, and not to excite the jealousy of people by haughty and self-sufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itself odious!<sup>3</sup>

About the same time Masinissa, finding his end approach, sent to desire a visit from Scipio, that he might invest him with full powers to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and estate, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no further account here of the family and posterity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, p. 55. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, 52—58.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3857. A. Rome, 601. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 63.

The high esteem which Phamæas entertained for Scipio, induced him to forsake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans. Accordingly he joined him with above two thousand horse, and did great service at the siege.<sup>1</sup>

Calpurnius Piso the consul, and L. Mancinus his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased, they daily got new allies, and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the pretender Philip,<sup>2</sup> who passed for the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.<sup>3</sup>

This news occasioned some uneasiness at Rome. People began to doubt the success of a war which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at first been imagined. They were dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, but unanimously agreed in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He had come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship.<sup>4</sup> The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the second; these several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people, and, though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the people, disregarding for once the laws, conferred the consulship upon him,<sup>5</sup> and assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for the provinces as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

As soon as Scipio had completed his recruits, he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica. He came very seasonably for Mancinus, Piso's lieutenant, who had rashly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy, and would have been cut to pieces that very morning, had not the new consul, who, at his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his assistance.<sup>6</sup>

Scipio's first care, after his arrival, was to restore discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the least regularity, subordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feasting, and diversions. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers; and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for soldiers, studiously banishing all dainties and luxuries.<sup>7</sup>

After he had made these regulations, which cost him but little time and trouble, because he himself first set the example, he was convinced that those under him were soldiers, and thereupon prepared to carry

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, l. xvii. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Andriacus.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> A. M 3858. A. Rome, 602.

<sup>6</sup> Appian, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Appian, p. 70.

on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers and scaling-ladders, he led them, in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city called Megara; when, ordering them to give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were, at first, in the utmost terror; they, however, defended themselves so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid soldiers, who, by the help of pontons,<sup>1</sup> got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whose gates they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemy out of that post: who, terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, where they were followed even by those forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary for them to fly to a place of security.

Before I proceed further it will be proper to give some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf surrounded with the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus, which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninsula was three hundred and sixty stadia, or eighteen leagues in circumference. On the west side there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or twelve fathoms broad: which advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was defended on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, exclusive of the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, &c. Over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There was likewise room enough to lodge twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. In fine, all these were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above-mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the west side. Two of these communicated with each other, and had but one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island, called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles<sup>2</sup> for sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships; over these were magazines or store-houses, containing whatever was necessary for

<sup>1</sup> A sort of movable bridge.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 56, 57. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 832.

<sup>3</sup> *Navesolus*, Strabo.

arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order: so that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one from thence could see what was transacting in the inner part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men-of-war, the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour. So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: the harbour, which was double, and called sometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name: the citadel, named Byrsa: the city properly so called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.<sup>1</sup>

At day-break,<sup>2</sup> Asdrubal,<sup>3</sup> perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order to be revenged on the Romans, and, at the same time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then throwing them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: he did not however spare even them, but murdered many senators who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny.

Scipio, finding himself absolute master of the Isthmus, burned the camp which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops.<sup>4</sup> It was of a square form, surrounded with large and deep entrenchments, and fenced with strong palisades. On the side which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and, on the middle tower, he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that is, twenty-five stadia.<sup>5</sup> The enemy, who were within arrow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to his work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work; first, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which distressed them exceedingly, both because the sea is frequently very tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a strict guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which soon after raged in the city. Besides, Asdrubal distributed the corn that was brought only among the thirty thousand men who served under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> It was he who first commanded without the city, but having caused the other Asdrubal, Masinissa's grandson, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

<sup>4</sup> Appian, p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Four miles and three quarters.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions, Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour.<sup>1</sup> The besieged at first looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and insulted the workmen accordingly; but at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid, and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, even to the women and children, fell to work, but so secretly, that all Scipio could learn from the prisoners was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the cause or occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven, and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must inevitably have taken it; because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man was otherwise employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of insult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

Two days after, they brought forward their ships, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them.<sup>2</sup> This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It lasted a long time, each exerting themselves to the utmost; the one to save their country, reduced to the last extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines, running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and when briskly attacked, retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sunset, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themselves overcome, but in order to recommence the fight on the morrow. Part of their ships not being able to run swiftly enough into the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the wall to unload goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered greatly, and the few ships of theirs which got off sailed for refuge to the city. When the morning arrived, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he posted and fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to those of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished, he commanded four thousand men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a constant shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; because, as the two walls were of equal height, there was scarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

<sup>1</sup> Appian, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 75.



During the winter-quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harassed the troops that brought his provisions, and protected such as were sent to the besieged.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nopheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, about seventy thousand of the enemy, as well soldiers as peasants who had been enlisted, were cut to pieces, and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after sustaining a siege of two and twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strongholds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

Early in the spring, Scipio attacked, at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon and the citadel. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, with houses on both sides, from the tops of which a shower of darts was discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they first reached, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge the enemy, who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat, which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houses, continued six days, during which a dreadful slaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants as had been slain or precipitated headlong from the houses, and threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this labour, which lasted six days and nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by others, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio slept none during this time, but was occupied in giving orders in all places, and scarcely allowed himself leisure to take the least refreshment.<sup>2</sup>

There was still reason to believe, that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood. But on the seventh day, there appeared a company of men in a suppliant posture and habit, who desired no other conditions, than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel; which request was granted them, excepting only the deserters. Accordingly, there came out fifty thousand men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Æsculapius, with Asdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was quite small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the ascent was by sixty steps. But at last, exhausted by hunger and watchings, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired

<sup>1</sup> Appian, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3859. A. Rome, 603. Appian, p. 79.

to the uppermost story, and resolved not to quit it but with their lives.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time Asdrubal, being desirous of saving his owl life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. While it was kindling, we are told, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself with her two children in sight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice: "I call not down," said she, "curses upon thy head, O Roman, for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then directing herself to Asdrubal, "Perfidious wretch," said she, "thou basest of creatures! this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, too shameful general of Carthage, go, adorn the gay triumph of the conqueror; suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deservest!" She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

With regard to Scipio, when he saw the entire ruin of this famous city, which had flourished seven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions, both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even superior to other nations, by their courage and magnanimity, as, notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege; historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage.<sup>2</sup> He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions, no less than individual men; that the like sad fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and, in later times, the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of so great an extent; and lastly, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following verses of Homer:

*"Ἔσεται ἡμᾶρ, ὅταν ποτ' ἀλώη Ἴλιος ἴση,  
καὶ Πριάμοιο καὶ λαοῦ ἱερμελίω Πριάμοιο.—Δ. Δ'. 164, 165.*

"The day shall come, that great avenging day,  
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay;  
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's self shall fall,  
And one prodigious ruin follow all."—Pope.

Thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio to explain himself on that occasion.

Had the truth enlightened his soul, he would have discovered that we are taught in the Scriptures, that *because of unrighteous dealings,*

<sup>1</sup> Appian, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 82.

*injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another.*<sup>1</sup> Carthage is destroyed because its avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty, have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive show of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall.

Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave it up to plunder (the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings which should be found in the temples, excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus, and Caius Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a very small ship (an excellent sailer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars. When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum Phalaris' famous bull,<sup>3</sup> he said that this bull, which was at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded his family, under the most severe penalties, not to take or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for sixteen years together; during which Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, destroyed three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men eminently strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods, and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in solemn sacrifices, in public prayers, games, and spectacles.<sup>5</sup>

After these religious duties were ended, the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the future. Their first care was to

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. x. 8.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3859. A. Carth. 701. A. Rome, 698. Ant. J. C. 145. Appian, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, æquum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculis utilis, suisque servire, an populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis, et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent.—Cicero. Verr. vi. n. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Appian, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> Rome,<sup>2</sup> though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being: so true it is, that inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was permitted to see Carthage; Scipio being well pleased to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire.<sup>3</sup> The commissioners decreed further, that those cities, which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, to which a prætor was sent annually.<sup>4</sup>

All matters being thus settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had for many years been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury, that amounted to immense sums.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's lifetime, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony, consisting of six thousand citizens, for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.<sup>6</sup>

It is probable, that only huts were built there, since we are told, that when Marius<sup>7</sup> retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a

<sup>1</sup> We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florius says, viz. that it was seventeen days on fire before it could be all consumed.—*Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari potest; quippe per continuos decem et septem dies vix potuit incendium extingui.*—Lib. ii. c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superator, securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginiæ. Adeo odium certaminibus ortam, ultra metum durat, et ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desit.—*Vel. Patere. l. i. c. 12.*

<sup>3</sup> Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hæc urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostendat.—*Cic. Agrar. ii. n. 50.*

<sup>4</sup> Appian, p. 84. <sup>5</sup> Vel. Patere. l. i. c. 12. <sup>6</sup> Appian, p. 85. Plut. in Vit. Gracch. p. 389.

<sup>7</sup> Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio.—*Vel. Patere. l. ii. c. 19.*

meat and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he wrote down, in his pocket-book, the design which he formed on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murdered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it formerly stood, in order that the imprecations which had been vented at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon them.<sup>1</sup>

I know not what foundation Appian has for this story;<sup>2</sup> but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before, he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar;<sup>3</sup> and Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> in the lifetime of that emperor, ascribes expressly to him the establishment of these two colonies; and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed together, they likewise were rebuilt and repeopled at the same time. However this be, Strabo affirms, that in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa: and it rose to be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for about seven hundred years after in splendour, but at last was so completely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least vestige of it, is known at this time in the country.

#### A DIGRESSION ON THE MANNERS AND CHARACTER OF THE SECOND SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

SCIPIO, the destroyer of Carthage, was son to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedon; and consequently grandson to that Paulus, who lost his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the son of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being so united, pursuant to the law of adoption. Our Scipio supported, with equal lustre, the honour and dignity of both houses, being possessed of all the exalted qualities of the sword and gown.<sup>5</sup> The whole tenor of his life, says a historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or his words, was conspicuous for its great beauty and regularity. He distinguished himself particularly, a circumstance seldom found at that time in persons of the military profession, by his exquisite taste for polite literature and all sciences, as well as by the uncommon regard he showed to learned men. It is universally known

<sup>1</sup> Appian, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, l. xvii. p. 833.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 733.

<sup>5</sup> Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnivus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit.—Vel. Patero. l. i. c. 12.

that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the most polite and elegant writings of which the Romans could boast. We are told of Scipio,<sup>1</sup> that no man could blend more happily repose and action, nor employ his leisure hours with greater delicacy and taste: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet: in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. By this he showed, that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of whatever quality or profession, than the adorning his soul with knowledge. Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says,<sup>2</sup> that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid and excellent instructions they contain, both in regard to war and policy.

He owed this exquisite taste for polite learning and the sciences to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children. He had put them under the ablest masters in every art, and did not spare any expense on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow; Paulus Æmilius himself was present at all their lessons, as often as the affairs of government would permit, becoming, by this means, their chief preceptor.<sup>3</sup>

The strict union between Polybius and Scipio finished the exalted qualities, which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration.<sup>4</sup> Polybius, with a great number of Achæians, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon attracted notice, and made his conversation the desire of all persons of the highest quality in that city. Scipio, when scarcely eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius, and considered as the greatest felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so eagerly pursued by young persons.

The first care of Polybius was to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquest had introduced into Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the great improvement in it; and, despising the levity and wantonness, as well as the pernicious examples of persons of the same age with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a shining model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence the transition was easy and natural to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the

<sup>1</sup> Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit; semperque aut belli aut pacis servit artibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exerovit.—Vel. Patere. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Africanus semper Socratiŭm Xenophontem in manibus habebat.—Tusc. Quæst. l. ii. n. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Vita Æmil. Paul.

<sup>4</sup> Excerpt. c. Polyb. p. 174—183.

most exalted pitch, as appears from some instances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia,<sup>1</sup> wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which were worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes; the whole suited to the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papira, his mother, who, having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity and never appeared in the assemblies or public ceremonies. But when she again frequented them with a magnificent train, the noble generosity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, by a condition in the will, to pay at three different times, to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portion, which amounted to fifty thousand French crowns.<sup>2</sup> The time for the payment of the first sum having expired, Scipio put all the money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Nasica, who had married the two sisters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him and observed, that the laws allowed him three years to pay the sum, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigor with strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous simplicity; and therefore desired them to receive the whole sum. They were struck with such admiration at the generosity of their kinsman, that in their return home they reproached themselves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greatest figure, and had a higher regard paid to them than any family in Rome.<sup>3</sup> This generous action, says Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay fifty thousand crowns before they were due, would pay even a thousand before the time for payment had elapsed.

It was from the same noble spirit that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius, his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was Scipio's due, (amounting to above three-score thousand crowns,)<sup>4</sup> that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being desirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory, as was the custom in that age, and not being able to defray the expenses on this occasion, which

<sup>1</sup> She was the sister of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Scipio Africanus.

<sup>2</sup> Or \$65,000.

<sup>3</sup> Κατανομήτις τῆς αὐτοῦ μεροληψίας.

<sup>4</sup> Or \$66,000.

amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of fifteen thousand crowns,<sup>1</sup> in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papiria reverted to him by law, as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters whatever he had presented to their mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

These different benefactions, which amounted together to a prodigious sum, seem to have received a brighter lustre from the age at which he bestowed them, he being then very young; and still more, from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging behaviour he assumed on those occasions.

The incidents I have here given are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of a historian, who was prejudiced in favour of his hero, if it was not well known that the predominant characteristic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love of truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he thought it would be necessary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he observes, that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by them, should he venture to advance any falsehood; an affront, to which it is not probable an author, who has the least regard for his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed, that Scipio had never gone into the fashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so wantonly abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his favourite exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enable him to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging, to the utmost of his desire, his passion in this respect; for the chase, which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aside for years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in his favourite sport,

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<sup>1</sup> Or \$16,500.



during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leisure hours in an exercise which so well suited his age and inclination; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts of Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon that he met with Polybius in Rome, and contracted the strict friendship with him, which was afterwards so beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almost as much honour in after ages as all his conquests. We find by history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when he and Scipio were alone, the latter opened himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he, in their conversations at table, always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him. "I am sensible," says he, "that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in Rome, because I do not plead at the bar, nor study the graces of elocution. But how should I do this? I am constantly told that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the house of the Scipios. I will confess to you, pardon the sincerity with which I reveal my thoughts, that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly." Polybius, surprised at these unexpected words, made Scipio the kindest answer, and assured the illustrious youth, that though he always directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of disrespect to him, but only because Fabius was the eldest; not to mention, continued Polybius, that, knowing you possessed but one soul, I conceived that I addressed both, when I spoke to either of you. He then assured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command; that, with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve himself in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who resorted daily to Rome; but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profession and favourite study, he, Polybius, might be of some little service to him. He had no sooner spoke these words, than Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture; "Oh! when," says he, "shall I see the happy day, when, disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be so much my friend as to improve my understanding, and regulate my affections? It is then I shall think myself worthy of my illustrious ancestors." From that time Polybius, overjoyed to see so young a man breathe such noble sentiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

Scipio, however, did not only esteem Polybius as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being so able a warrior, and so profound a politician. Accordingly, he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice, even when he was at the head of his army: concerting in private with Polybius, all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of his forces, all enterprises against the

enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

In a word, it was the common report, that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action, but when he was advised to it by Polybius; nor even commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.<sup>1</sup>

I flatter myself that the reader will excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject, as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, viz., the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not altogether its proper place. And indeed these examples show how important it is that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education, and the great benefit they derive from associating and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble an example for our age, in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families, is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, took a delight in bestowing the largest sums on them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book where, treating of the taste with regard to solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I afterwards could not but blame myself for omitting.

#### THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY AND POSTERITY OF MASINISSA.

I PROMISED, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

From Masinissa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the first Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that Roman might be sent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But, believing that he should be dead before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows: "I know no nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no family but that of Scipio. I now, in my expiring moments, empower Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all my possessions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, shall be

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 605.

executed as punctually as if I myself had appointed it by my will." After these words, he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.<sup>1</sup>

This prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thousand times in danger of his life.<sup>2</sup> Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unruffled by any unfortunate accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed, till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which was doubtless owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he perpetually sustained. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men,<sup>3</sup> and always rode without a saddle; and Polybius observes, a circumstance preserved by Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> that a day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen, sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

He left fifty-four sons, of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest; but the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possessor of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew, Mastanabal's son, of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children.<sup>5</sup> This last-mentioned prince possessed several eminent qualities, which gained him universal esteem. Jugurtha, who was finely shaped, and very handsome, of the most delicate wit and the most solid judgment, did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his age, in running, riding, and throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself; *plurimum facere, et minimum ipse de se loqui.*<sup>6</sup>

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections, began to excite the jealousy of Micipsa. He was himself in the decline of life, and his children very young. He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by so resplendent a temptation, especially when united with such

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3857. A. Rome, 601. App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. x. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero introduces Cato, speaking as follows of Masinissa's vigorous constitution: Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum equo, ex equo non defendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduct, ut capite aperto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera.—De Senectute.

<sup>4</sup> An seni gerenda sit Resp. p. 791.

All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust. <sup>5</sup> Appian, Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

favourable circumstances.<sup>1</sup> In order, therefore, to remove a competitor so dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to the assistance of the Romans, who, at that time, were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the most heroic bravery, he flattered himself that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. In this he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage, the utmost calmness of mind; preserving a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of his age.<sup>2</sup> In this campaign, he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio sent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to it; for, knowing mankind so well, he in all probability had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared one day would break out into a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the great character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and resolved, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly he adopted him; and, by his will, made him joint-heir with his two sons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he sent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in presence of his whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him, conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect his children on all occasions; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipsa's) bounty. He told him, that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real services and inviolable fidelity.<sup>3</sup> Now where, says he, can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on strangers? He exhorted his sons to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha; and to have no contention with him, but in their endeavours to equal, and, if possible, surpass his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment to the Romans; and to consider them as their benefactors, their patrons, and masters. A few days after this Micipsa expired.<sup>4</sup>

But Jugurtha soon threw off the mask, and began by ridding himself of Hiempsal, who had expressed himself to him with great freedom, by instigating his murder.<sup>5</sup> This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal, what he himself might naturally fear. Numi-

<sup>1</sup> Terreat cum natura mortalium avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem præterea opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit.—Sallust.

<sup>2</sup> Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.

<sup>3</sup> Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia regni sunt, verum amici; quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parere queas; officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem invenis si tuis hostis fueris?

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3887. A. Rome, 631.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3888. A. Rome, 632.

dia was now divided, and sided severally with the two brothers. Mighty armies were raised by each party. Adherbal, after losing the greatest part of his fortresses, was vanquished in battle, and forced to make Rome his asylum. This, however, gave Jugurtha no very great uneasiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore sent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief senators. In the first audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal represented the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstance on which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying father, viz.: to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the universe. His speech was of great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following answer: that Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians, on account of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor, and yet, after having been vanquished, was come to make complaints, because he had not committed all the excesses he desired; that their sovereign entreated the senate to judge of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from what he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater stress on his actions, than on the accusations of his enemies. But these ambassadors had secretly employed an eloquence, much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole assembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who were not so void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The senate came to this resolution, that commissioners should be sent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally suppose that Jugurtha was not sparing of his treasure on this occasion; the division was made to his advantage, and yet a specious appearance of equity was preserved.

This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage and assurance. He accordingly attacked his brother by open force; and while the latter lost his time in sending deputations to the Romans, he stormed several fortresses, carried on his conquests, and, after defeating Adherbal, besieged him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, ambassadors arrived from Rome with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence and submission, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention to hinder him from defending his own life against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with saying, that he would send ambassadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the senate of his conduct. By this evasive answer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait on Adherbal.

Though the latter was so closely blocked up in his capital, he yet found means to send to Rome, to implore the assistance of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged him five months, and

intended to take away his life.<sup>1</sup> Some senators were of opinion that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his influence prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embassy to be sent, composed of senators of the highest distinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great influence over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had lost all hopes, surrendered, upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless, he was immediately murdered, with a great number of Numidians.

Although the greatest part of the people at Rome were struck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the senate. But C. Memmius, a tribune of the people, an active man who hated the nobility, prevailed upon the former not to suffer so horrid a crime to go unpunished; and accordingly war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, Calpurnius Bestia, the consul, was appointed to carry it on. He was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all destroyed, and rendered useless by his avarice.<sup>2</sup> Scaurus set out with him. They at first took several towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and Scaurus<sup>3</sup> himself, who, till now, had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not resist so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very considerable sum of money, were delivered to the quæstor.<sup>4</sup>

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius, the tribune, fired them by his speeches. He caused Cassius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha, and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an inquiry might be made in his presence who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The sight of him raised the anger of the people still higher, but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the session, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of Masinissa, called Massiva, being at that time in the city, was advised to solicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him assassinated in the midst of Rome. However, the murderer was seized, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart from Italy. Upon leaving the city, he turned his eyes several times towards it, and said,

<sup>1</sup> He chose two of the nimblest of those who had followed him into Cirtha; who, induced by the great rewards he promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighboring shore, and from thence to Rome.—*Ex iis qui una Cirtham profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.*—Sallust.

<sup>2</sup> *Multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.*

<sup>3</sup> *Magnitudine pecuniæ a bono bonestoque in pravum abstractus est.*

<sup>4</sup> *A. M. 3894. A. Rome, 683. Ant. J. C. 110.*

“Rome wants only a purchaser; and were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined.”<sup>1</sup>

The war now recommenced. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the consul, caused it to progress very slowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public assemblies,<sup>2</sup> the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, surrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so shameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was considered in a most odious light at Rome. They could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the consul. To all the other virtues which constitute the great captain, he added a perfect disregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money, than by the sword.<sup>3</sup> But the African monarch found Metellus as inaccessible in this as in all other respects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, through the deficiency of an expedient which now began to fail him. He accordingly signalized himself in a surprising manner; and showed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and suggests new views: he was, however, unsuccessful, because opposed by a consul who did not suffer the most inconsiderable error to escape him, nor ever let slip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's great concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a design upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself safe any where: but all things, by day, as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors sat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got any sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and break into loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear, and so strangely did he act the madman.

Marius was lieutenant of Metellus. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour secretly to lessen this general's character, in the minds of his soldiers; and becoming soon his professed enemy and slanderer, he at last, by the most grovelling and perfidious arts, prevailed so far as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his place, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. With whatever strength of mind Metellus might be endued on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this unforeseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and

<sup>1</sup> Postquam Roma egressus est, fertur sæpe tacitus eo respiciens, postremo dixisse. Urthem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenir. <sup>2</sup> For electing magistrates.—Sal.

<sup>3</sup> In Numidian proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artes bonas, tunc in maxime quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat.

such expressions as were altogether unworthy so great a man.<sup>1</sup> There was something very dark and vile in this procedure of Marius; a circumstance that displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. A triumph was decreed him, and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him.<sup>2</sup>

I thought it would be proper to suspend, till I came to the Roman history, an account of the events that happened in Africa under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumstantially described by Salust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had recourse to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, opposite to Spain.<sup>3</sup> The Roman name was scarcely known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Jugurtha insinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin, especially, as the Romans, who were sworn enemies to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed upon Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from the king.

This confederacy, which was strengthened on either side by no other tie than that of interest, had never been close, and a late defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose he had desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as quæstor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to put himself into the hands of the barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself in sincerity, and was for ever projecting new designs, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and between contrary opinions: and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole person, showed evidently how strong his mind was affected. At length returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

Sylla, says Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> acted on this occasion like a young man fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he had just begun to

<sup>1</sup> Quibus rebus supra bonum atque honestum percussis, neque lacrymas tenere neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pari.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3898. A. Rome, 642.

<sup>3</sup> Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Οσα νέος φιλότιμος ἀρτί δόξης γεγενημένος, οὐκ ἤσκηκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτυχημα.—Plut. Precep. Reip. Gerend. p. 806.



taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reserved the greatest part of it to himself, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult, that he could never forgive him; a circumstance that gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans, which afterwards broke out with so much fury, and cost the republic so much blood.<sup>1</sup>

Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that so formidable an enemy, during whose life they could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artifice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate.<sup>2</sup> We are told, that Jugurtha ran distracted, as he proceeded in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into prison; and that the lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition, he was cast, quite naked, and in the utmost terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp: an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition, ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected so much honour on polite literature and the sciences, that I could not without impropriety omit him in the history of Masinissa, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great-grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, in which his forces, and those of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conquerer, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history, that a noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards enabled him to rival the most learned Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take possession, of his father's dominions. Augustus restored them to him, when, by the death of Marc Antony, the provinces of the empire were absolutely at his disposal.<sup>3</sup> Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his subjects: who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pausanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Vit. Marii.      <sup>2</sup> A. M. 3901. A. Rome, 645. Ant. J. C. 103.—Plaut. Néd.  
A. M. 3974. A. Rome 719. Ant J. C. 30.

erected to his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the muses, should give public testimonies of its esteem for a king who made so bright a figure among the learned. Suidas ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant.<sup>1</sup> He had written the history of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting, and of painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, &c.; a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's short dissertations on the life and works of the younger Juba,<sup>2</sup> whence I have extracted these few particulars.

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<sup>1</sup> In voce *Idæus*.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IV. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 457.

# BOOK THIRD.

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## THE HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

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### PLAN.

This book will contain the history of the Assyrian empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon, the kingdom of the Medes, and the kingdom of the Lydians.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FIRST EMPIRE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

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##### SECTION I.—DURATION OF THAT EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. With respect to its duration, two opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, give it a duration of thirteen hundred years; others reduce it to five hundred and twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or probably the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire, might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinion, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile it.

The history of those early times is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us so contrary to each other, and the systems of the moderns upon that matter so different, that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestable.<sup>1</sup> But, where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now, we learn from the Holy Scripture that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and, in all probability, the first and most ancient that ever aspired after that denomination.

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<sup>1</sup> They that are curious to make deeper researches into this matter, may read the dissertations of abbé Bannier, and Mr. Freret, upon the Assyrian empire, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres. For the first, see Vol. III., and for the other, Vol. V., as also what father Tournemine has written upon this subject, in his edition of Menochius.

The Babylonians, as Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves to be at least of 1903 years standing, when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon; which carries their origin as far back as the year of the world 1771, that is to say, one hundred and fifteen years after the deluge.<sup>1</sup> This computation comes within a few years of the time we suppose Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed, this testimony of Callisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not esteemed authentic by the learned; but the conformity we find between it and the Holy Scripture should make us regard it.

Upon these grounds, I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted, with more or less extent and glory, upwards of 1450 years, from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the last king; that is to say, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.<sup>2</sup>

Nimrod.<sup>3</sup> He is the same with Belus,<sup>4</sup> who was afterwards worshipped as a god, under that appellation.

He was the son of Chus, grandson of Cham, and great-grandson of Noah. He was, says the Scripture, *a mighty hunter before the Lord*.<sup>5</sup> In applying himself to this laborious and dangerous exercise, he had two things in view; the first was to gain the people's affection, by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beasts; the next was to train up numbers of young people, by this exercise of hunting, to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time after they had been accustomed to his orders, and habituated to arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In ancient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his son: for Diodorus has these words: "Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of glory which results from valour, he armed a considerable number of young men, that were brave and vigorous like himself; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means accustomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face danger with courage and intrepidity."<sup>6</sup>

What the same author adds, that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is taken from ancient tradition, which informs us, that the sons of Chus, the brothers of Nimrod, all settled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian gulf, from Havila to the ocean, and lived near enough their brother to lend him succours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian further says of Ninus, that he was the first king of the Assy-

<sup>1</sup> Porphyr. apud Simplic. in. lib. ii. de Cœlo.

<sup>2</sup> Here I depart from the opinion of Bishop Usher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes, with Herodotus, to have lasted but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod lived, and Sardanapalus died, I take from him.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204.

<sup>4</sup> Belus, or Baal, signifies Lord.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. x. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. ii. p. 90.

rians, agrees exactly with what the Scripture says of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth*; that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the same polity and the same laws, and formed them into one state, which for those early times was of a considerable extent, though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in succeeding ages made new acquisitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.<sup>1</sup>

*The capital city of his kingdom, says the Scripture, was Babylon.*<sup>2</sup> Most of the profane historians ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis,<sup>3</sup> the rest to Belus. It is evident that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founding of that city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis, nor to Nimrod, but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in Scripture,<sup>4</sup> who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal.

Josephus relates, upon the testimony of a Sibyl, which must have been very ancient, and whose fictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians, that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane.<sup>5</sup> Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still the greater, to rebuild a city and a tower, which God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeasure. But the Scripture says no such thing; and it is very probable the building remained in the condition it was when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus,<sup>6</sup> was this very tower which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

It is also probable, that this ridiculous design being defeated by such an astonishing prodigy as none could be the author of but God himself, everybody abandoned the place which had given him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it afterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates, and subdued those that lived round about it, beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass; *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon.* The other cities which the Scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Assyria, and there built Nineveh: *De terra illa egressus est Assur, et ædificavit Nineven.*<sup>7</sup> This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the first man who possessed it; as if it were, *egressus est in Assur, in Assyriam.* And this seems to be the most natural construction, for many reasons not necessary to be recited in this place. The country of Assyria, in one of the prophets,<sup>8</sup> is described by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et pascent terram Assur in*

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Semiramis eam condiderat, vel, ut plerique tradidere, Belus, cujus regia ostenditur.—  
Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xi. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. x. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. ii. c. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. x. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Mic. v. 6.

*gladio, et terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; et liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram.* It derived its name from Assur the son of Shem, who without doubt had settled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection, by the usurper Nimrod.

This conqueror, having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur,<sup>1</sup> did not ravage them, like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects as he was by his old ones; so that the historians,<sup>2</sup> who have not sufficiently examined this affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities, he built one larger and more magnificent than the rest, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The son, in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears plainly that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who showed others the way to that sort of immortality which may result from human accomplishments.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by profane authors, because the Scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of Scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson for our piety. The holy penman has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together, on purpose that we should see an example in the former, of what is admired and coveted by men; and in the latter, of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God.<sup>3</sup> These two persons, so unlike each other, are the two first and chief citizens of two different cities, built from different motives, and with different principles; the one, self-love, and a desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other, the love of God, even to self-humiliation.

**NINUS.** I have already observed, that most of the profane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

Having a design to enlarge his conquests, the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his designs. And having received powerful succours from the Arabians, his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt, as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.<sup>4</sup>

At his return, before he entered upon any new conquests, he conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the building of a city

<sup>1</sup> Gen. x. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. ii. p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Fecerunt civitates quas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei; celestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.*—St. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xiv. c. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. ii. p. 90—95

answerable to the greatness of his power; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the Tigris.<sup>1</sup> Possibly he did no more than finish the work his father had begun. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and not leave it in the power of those that came after him, ever to build, or hope to build, such another. Nor was he deceived in his view, for never did any city rival the greatness and magnificence of this: it was one hundred and fifty stadia, or eighteen miles and three quarters in length, and ninety stadia, or eleven miles and one quarter, in breadth; and consequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty stadia, or sixty miles. For this reason we find it said in the prophet Jonah, *that Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days journey*;<sup>2</sup> which is to be understood of the whole circuit or compass of the city.<sup>3</sup> The walls of it were a hundred feet high, and of such a thickness, that three chariots might go abreast upon them with ease. They were fortified and adorned with fifteen hundred towers two hundred feet high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Ctesias, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and about sixteen thousand chariots, armed with scythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, since, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the single city of Syracuse, in the time of Dionysius the tyrant, furnished one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides four hundred vessels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to send into the field nearly a million of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have seen all his attempts miscarry, had it not been for the diligence and assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and particularly exempted from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria. I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nursed and brought up by pigeons, since that historian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and then became master of the city, in which he found an immense treasure. The husband of this lady having killed himself, to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife, Ninus married Semiramis.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a son by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She, in honour of his memory, erected him a

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus says, it was on the banks of the Euphrates, and speaks of it as if it was so, in many places; but he is mistaken. <sup>2</sup> Jonah, iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> It is hard to believe that Diodorus does not speak of the magnitude of Nineveh with some exaggeration: therefore, some learned men have reduced the stadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile instead of eight.

magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

I find no appearance of truth in what some authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them, having secured the chief men of the state, and attached them to her interest by her benefactions and promises, she solicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. He yielded to her entreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death either immediately or after some years imprisonment.<sup>1</sup>

SEMIRAMIS. This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name, and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises.<sup>2</sup> She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the building of the mighty Babylon,<sup>3</sup> in which work she employed two millions of men, who were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them altogether, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works which rendered Babylon so famous, were the walls of the city; the quays and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such surprising magnificence as is scarcely to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this matter with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge them.

#### I. THE WALLS.

BABYLON stood on a large flat or plain, in a very rich and deep soil.<sup>4</sup> The walls were every way prodigious. They were eighty-seven feet thick, three hundred and fifty feet high, and four hundred and eighty furlongs, or sixty of our miles in circumference. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs,<sup>5</sup> or fifteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves, which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it, was made into the bricks wherewith the walls were

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Mor. p. 753.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. ii. p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city ascribed to different persons. It is common, even among profane writers, to say, such a prince built such a city, whether he was the person that first founded it, or that only embellished or enlarged it.

<sup>4</sup> Her. l. i. c. 178, 180. Diod. l. ii. p. 95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> I relate things as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done, but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they say as to the immense extent of Babylon and Nineveh.



built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls, may be inferred the greatness of the ditch.

On every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.*<sup>1</sup> Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square extended twenty-five streets, in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, twenty-five of which passed one way, and twenty-five the other, crossing each other at right angles. And besides these, there were also four half streets, which had houses only on one side, and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad; the rest were about a hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was divided into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares, on every side towards the street, stood the houses, which were not contiguous, but had void spaces between them, all built three or four stories high, and embellished with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all vacant ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, nearly one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.<sup>2</sup>

## II. THE QUAYS AND BRIDGE.

A BRANCH of the river Euphrates ran quite across the city, from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay, and a high wall, built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, opposite to every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, and from them descents by steps to the river, for the convenience of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. These brazen gates were always open in the daytime, and shut in the night.<sup>3</sup>

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings either in beauty or magnificence; it was a furlong in length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was sandy.<sup>4</sup> The arches were made

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xlv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Her. l. i. c. 180, 186. Diod. l. ii. p. 66

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus says this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, since the Euphrates was but one furlong broad.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 758.

of huge stones, fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in so doing besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall hereafter explain. And as everything was prepared beforehand, both the bridge and the quays, which I have already described, were built in that interval.

### III. THE LAKE, DITCHES, AND CANALS MADE FOR THE DRAINING OF THE RIVER.

THESE works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer, the melting of the snow upon the mountains of Armenia, causes a vast increase of waters, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July, and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from these inundations, at a very considerable distance above the town, two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris before they reached Babylon.<sup>2</sup> And to secure the country yet more from the danger of inundations, and to keep the river within its channel, they raised prodigious artificial banks on both sides the river, built with brick, cemented with bitumen, which began at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.<sup>3</sup>

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river another way; for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, forty miles square,<sup>4</sup> one hundred and sixty in compass, and thirty-five feet deep, according to Herodotus, and seventy-five feet, according to Megasthenes. Into this lake the whole river was turned by an artificial canal, cut from the west side of it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of its increase, might not overflow the city through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflowings, was kept there all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices at convenient times for watering the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was equally useful in securing the country from inundations, and rendering it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon as they are delivered down to us by the ancients, but there are some of them which are scarcely to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the lake I have described. I mean with respect to its vast extent.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, made Nebuchadnezzar the author of most of these works;

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. xvi. p. 740. Plin. l. v. c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Abyd. ap. Eus. Præp. Evang. l. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Abyd. ib. Her. l. i. c. 186.

<sup>4</sup> The author follows Herodotus, who makes it four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles square, but I choose to follow Dean Prideaux, who in that prefers the account of Megasthenes.

but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two quays of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might only finish what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

#### IV. THE PALACES AND THE HANGING GARDENS.

At the two ends of the bridges were two palaces, which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river at the time of its being dry.<sup>1</sup> The old palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs, or three miles and three quarters, in compass; near which stood the temple of Behus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace, which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half, in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals to the life. Among them was a curious hunting-piece, in which Semiramis, on horseback, was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Nimus piercing a lion.

In this last, or new palace, were the hanging gardens, so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four plethra, that is, of four hundred feet, on every side, and were carried aloft into the air, in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall twenty-two feet thick, surrounding it on every side. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad; over these was a layer of reeds, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaister. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this flooring was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running through the arches. The mould, or earth, laid here, was so deep, that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terraces were covered, as well as with all other plants and flowers that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrace there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.<sup>2</sup>

Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media, (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country,) was highly pleased with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as she desired to have something like it in Babylon, Nebuchodo-

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. p. 98, 99. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

nosor, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

#### V. THE TEMPLE OF BELUS.

ANOTHER of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace.<sup>2</sup> It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass; and, according to Strabo, it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other; and because it decreased gradually to the top, Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only asserted, but proved, that this tower far exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as Bochartus asserts, that this is the very same tower which was built there at the confusion of languages; and the rather, because it is attested by several profane authors, that this tower was entirely built of bricks and bitumen, as the Scripture says the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs round the outside of it; that is, perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which turning by very slow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms, with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by means of which the Babylonians became more expert in astronomy than all other nations, and made in a short time the great progress in it ascribed to them in history.<sup>3</sup>

But the chief use to which this tower was designed, was the worship of the god Belus, or Baal, as also that of several other deities: for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in the different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one of forty feet high, which weighed a thousand Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Pollux, in his *Onomasticon*, contained seven thousand Attic drachmas, and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but six thousand drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes of the riches contained in this temple, the sum total amounts to six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold.

The sixth part of six thousand three hundred, is one thousand and fifty; consequently, six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now, seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of silver are worth upwards of two millions and one hundred thousand pounds

<sup>1</sup> Beros. ap. Jos. con. App. l. i. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 181. Diod. l. ii. p. 98. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

<sup>3</sup> Phal. part I. l. i. c. 8.

sterling. The proportion between gold and silver among the ancients we reckon as ten to one; therefore, seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one-and-twenty millions sterling.<sup>1</sup>

This temple stood till the time of Xerxes; but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and, in order thereto, set ten thousand men to work, to rid the place of its rubbish; but after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon so famous. Some of them are ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, to whose history it is now time to return.

When she had finished all these great undertakings, she thought proper to make a tour through the several parts of her empire; and, wherever she came, left monuments of her magnificence, by many noble structures which she erected, either for the convenience or ornament of her cities; she applied herself particularly to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highways easy by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.<sup>3</sup>

The authority this queen had over her people seems very extraordinary, since we find her presence alone capable of appeasing a sedition.<sup>4</sup> One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately, with her head half dressed, and did not return till the disturbance was entirely appeased. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very condition and undress, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of Æthiopia. While she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to inquire of the oracle how long she had to live. According to Diodorus, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son Ninyas conspired against her; and that after her death, one part of Asia would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against India. On this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the strength of the Indians consisted chiefly in their great number of elephants, this artful queen had a multitude of camels accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is said that Perseus long after used the same stratagem against the Romans, but neither of them succeeded in this design. The Indian king, having notice of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, she came wantonly

<sup>1</sup> \$93,240,000.

<sup>2</sup> Dioid. ii. p. 100—108.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 183. Strabo, l. xv. p. 738. Arrian. l. vii. p. 456.

<sup>4</sup> Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 3.

to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deserved. Tell your master, replied the queen, that in a little time I myself will let him know who I am. She advanced immediately towards the river<sup>1</sup> from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a sufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army. Their passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle, she put her enemies to flight. More than a thousand of their boats were sunk, and above a hundred thousand of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success, she advanced directly into the country, leaving sixty thousand men behind to guard the bridge of boats which she had built over the river. This was just what the king desired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As soon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a second engagement ensued, more bloody than the first. The disguised camels could not long sustain the shock of the elephants, which routed her army, crushing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that could be done to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The swiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge, to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those that could save themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopped the enemy; and the king likewise, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of prisoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with scarcely one-third of her army, which, according to Ctesias, consisted of three hundred thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. She, and Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I must own I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with the times so near the deluge; such vast armies, I mean, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with scythes, and such immense treasures of gold and silver, all which seem to be of a later date. The same thing may likewise be said of the magnificence of the buildings ascribed to them. It is probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the similarity of names, through their ignorance in chronology, and the resemblance of one event to another, may have ascribed to more ancient princes, such acts as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprises to one which ought to be divided among a series of them, succeeding one another.

Semiramis, some time after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her principal officers had offered him

<sup>1</sup> Indus

assistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her, according to the promise of the oracle. And indeed we are told she was worshipped by the Assyrians under the form of a dove. She lived sixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, two learned dissertations upon the Assyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.<sup>1</sup>

What Justin<sup>2</sup> says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and authority of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner more than forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to bring him to a criminal compliance, and was slain by him; all this is so void of every appearance of truth, that to undertake to confute it, would be but losing time. It must, however, be owned, that almost all the authors who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

I do not know but the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce Plato<sup>3</sup> to maintain, in his commonwealth, that women, as well as men, should be admitted into the management of public affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states; and, by necessary consequence, ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. Nor does he so much as except those exercises wherein it was customary to fight perfectly naked, alleging that the virtue of the sex would be a sufficient covering for them.<sup>4</sup>

It is just matter of astonishment to find a philosopher so judicious in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, which virtues are the principal ornament of the sex, and insisting so strongly upon a principle sufficiently confuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations in the world.

Aristotle, wiser in this than his master Plato, without doing the least injustice to the real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgment marked out the different ends to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind wherewith they are endowed by the Author of Nature, who has given the one strength of body, and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers; while the other, on the contrary, is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which

Vol. III. p. 313, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. v. de Rep. p. 461—467.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐπιεικὴ ἀπειρήν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐκτρέφει.*

render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, to employ herself in a prudent and industrious economy.<sup>1</sup>

Xenophon is of the same opinion with Aristotle, and in order to set off the occupation of the wife, who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the queen of the bees, who alone governs and has the superintendance of the whole hive; who distributes all their employments, encourages their industry, presides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family; regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new swarms in colonies to relieve and discharge the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of constitution and inclinations, designedly given by the Author of Nature to man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and respective offices and functions.<sup>2</sup>

This allotment, far from degrading or lessening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domestic empire and government, administered only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good nature; and in giving her frequent occasions to exert the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and submission. For it must ingenuously be owned that, at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women who, by a real and solid merit, have distinguished themselves above their sex; as there have been innumerable instances of men, who, by their defects, have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and prescribed by the Creator himself.

**NINYAS.** This prince was in no respect like those from whom he descended, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself shut up in his palace, and seldom showed himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king placing a commander at the head of them, on whose fidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him.<sup>3</sup>

His successors for thirty generations followed his example, and even exceeded him in indolence. Their history is absolutely unknown, no vestige of it remaining.

In Abraham's time, the Scripture speaks of Amraphael, king of Sennaar, the country where Babylon was situated, who, with two other princes, followed Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.<sup>4</sup>

It was under the government of these inactive princes, that Sesos-

<sup>1</sup> De Cura Rei Fam. li. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. ii. p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> De Administr. Dom. p. 839.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912.



tris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests so far in the East. But, as his power was of short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon returned to its former state.<sup>1</sup>

Plato, a curious observer of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priam, dependent on the Assyrian empire. And Ctesias says that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Ninyas, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, at the time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above a thousand years; which agrees exactly with the time wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire.<sup>2</sup> But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and which must necessarily have been well known, renders this fact exceedingly doubtful. And it must be owned, that whatever relates to the times of the ancient history of the Assyrians is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

PUL. The Scripture informs us that Pul, king of Assyria, being come into the land of Israel, had a thousand talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance, and secure him on his throne.<sup>3</sup>

This Pul is supposed to be the king of Nineveh, who repented, with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, called, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardan-pul; that is to say, Sardan the son of Pul.

SARDANAPALUS.<sup>4</sup> This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but spent all of his time among a company of women, dressed and painted like them, and employed like them at the distaff. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possession of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He ordered two verses to be put upon his tomb when he died, which imported that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, but left all the rest behind him.

Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exsaturata libido  
Haurit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relicta.<sup>5</sup>

An epitaph, says Aristotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governor of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and with his own eyes to see Sardanapalus in the midst of an infamous seraglio, enraged at such a scene, and not able to endure that so many brave men should be subject to a prince more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately formed a conspiracy against him. Belesis, governor of Babylon, and several others,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2512. Ant. J. C. 1491.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 2820. Ant. J. C. 1184. De Leg. l. iii. p. 685.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3223. Ant. J. C. 771. 2 Kings xv. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. ii. p. 109—115. Ath. l. xii. p. 529, 530. Just. l. i. c. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Κείν' ἔχου "οὐκ" ἔφαγον, καὶ ἐπέθρισα, καὶ μετ' ἑρως; Τίπον' ἔταβον εἰ δέ' πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τέρτα ἔλακτρα. Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regis sepulchro, inscriberes? Hæc habere se mortuorum dicit, quæ ne vivis quidem diutius habebat, quam fruebatur.—Cic. Tus. Quæst. lib. v. n. 10.

entered into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the king hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with some forces which he had assembled, he was overcome and pursued to the gates of Nineveh; wherein he shut himself, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take a city so well fortified, and stored with provisions for a considerable time: the siege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle that Nineveh could never be taken, unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words buoyed up Sardanapalus, because he looked upon the thing as impossible. But when he saw that the Tigris, by a violent inundation, had thrown down twenty stadia<sup>1</sup> of the city wall, and, by that means opened a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. He resolved, however, to die in such a manner, as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and setting fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women, and his treasures.<sup>2</sup> Athenæus makes these treasures amount to a thousand myriads of talents of gold,<sup>3</sup> and ten times as many talents of silver, which, without reckoning anything else, is a sum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thousand; and one single myriad of talents of silver is worth thirty millions of French money, or about six millions two hundred and sixteen thousand dollars. A man is lost if he attempts to sum up the whole value; which induces me to believe that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; we may, however, be assured from his account that the treasures were immensely great.

Plutarch, in his second treatise, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes consists, after having shown that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two different examples, taken from the history of the Assyrians.<sup>4</sup> Semiramis and Sardanapalus, says he, both governed the same kingdom; both had the same people, the same extent of country, the same revenues, the same forces and number of troops; but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same views. Semiramis, raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror everywhere; whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his sex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually surrounded with a company of women, whose habit, and even manners, he had taken, applying himself with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing anything else than spinning, eating, and drinking, and revelling in all manner of infamous pleasure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words:

<sup>1</sup> Two miles and a half.

<sup>2</sup> About \$6,216,000,000.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3257. Ant. J. O. 747.

Page 335, 336.

*Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing.*<sup>1</sup> An inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis as almost all the profane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But to judge correctly, it would be proper for us to ask, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less culpable than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus? which of the two vices was most injurious to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having passed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted about 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire, were formed three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governor of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, whose first king took the name of Ninus the Younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, it is proper, and even absolutely necessary, to compare what is said of it by profane authors with what we find of it in holy Scripture; that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, but afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of the second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, BOTH OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON.

THIS second Assyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the East, by the death of his father Cambyses, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, published the famous edict whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a captivity of seventy years at Babylon.

#### KINGS OF BABYLON.

**BELESIS.** He is the same as Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epochs at Babylon, called from his name the era of Nabonassar. In the holy Scripture he is called Baladan. He reigned but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son,<sup>2</sup>

**MERODACH-BALADAN.**<sup>3</sup> This is the prince who sent ambassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reigned several other

<sup>1</sup> Έσθια, πινε, ἀφροδισιαζ' ταλλα δὲ ἐπίγυ.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. 2 Kings, xx. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Γβδ.

kings at Babylon, with whose story we are entirely unacquainted.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

## KINGS OF NINEVEH.

**TIGLATH-PILESER.**<sup>2</sup> This is the name given by the holy Scripture to the king who is supposed to be the first that reigned at Nineveh, after the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire. He is called Thilgamus by Ælian. He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the Younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so ancient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz, king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at once by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase his friendship and assistance; promising him, besides, to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Assyria, finding so favorable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the proposal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah and Amos.<sup>3</sup> From thence he marched against Phœœa, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, or in Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant sums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver out of the temple. Thus this alliance served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh, who became so many instruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people.

**SALMANASAR.**<sup>4</sup> Sabacus, the Ethiopian, whom the Scripture calls So, having made himself master of Egypt, Hosea, king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end, he withdrew from his dependence upon Salmanasar, refusing to pay him any farther tribute, or make him the usual presents.

Salmanasar, to punish him for his presumption, marched against him with a powerful army, and after having subdued all the plain country, shut him up in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hosea with chains, and threw him into prison for the rest of his days; carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, destroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about two hundred and fifty years.

<sup>1</sup> Can. Ptol.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. Lib. xii. Hist. Anim. c. 21. Castor. apud. Euseb. Chron. p. 49. 1 Kings, xvi. 7, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. viii. 4. Amos, i. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3276. Ant. J. C. 728. 2 Kings xvii.

It was at this time that Tobit, with Anna his wife, and his son Tobias, was carried captive into Assyria, where he became one of the principal officers to king Salmanasar.<sup>1</sup>

Salmanasar died, after having reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son,

**SENNACHERIB.**<sup>2</sup> He is also called Sargon in Scripture. As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed the demand of the tribute exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal, he declared war against him, and entered into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent ambassadors to him, to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, seemingly pacified, entered into treaty with him, and demanded a very great sum of gold and silver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Assyrian, regarding neither the sanction of oaths nor treaties, still continued the war, and pushed on his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power; and of all the strong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was, however, reduced to the utmost extremity. At this very juncture, Sennacherib was informed that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined forces with the king of Egypt, was coming up to succour the besieged city. Now, it was contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief rulers at Jerusalem had required any foreign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with spoil.<sup>3</sup>

It was probably during Sennacherib's absence, which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured in a miraculous manner; and that, as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple, the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, sent ambassadors to him with letters and presents, to congratulate him on that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happened upon earth at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to show his ambassadors the riches and treasures he possessed, and to let them see all the magnificence of his palace.<sup>4</sup> Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the Supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and discriminating than ours, this action dis-

<sup>1</sup> Tobit, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717. Isa. xx. 1. 2 Kings, xviii. and xix.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings, xix. 9.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings, xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31

covered a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly, he instantly informed the king, by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures he had been showing to those ambassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon, and that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having sent ambassadors thither; nor did Jerusalem then seem to have anything to fear but from Nineveh, whose power was at that time formidable, and had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

But to return to Sennacherib: after he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jerusalem, and again besieged it. The city seemed to be inevitably lost; it was without resource, and without hope from the hands of men, but had a powerful Protector in heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh against his sacred name. In one single night a hundred and eighty-five thousand men of his army perished by the sword of the destroying angel.<sup>1</sup> After so terrible a blow, this pretended king of kings, for so he called himself, this triumpher over nations, and conqueror of gods, was obliged to return to his own country, with the miserable remnant of his army, covered with shame and confusion; he survived his defeat only a few months, as a just retribution to an offended God, whose supreme majesty he had presumed to insult, and who now, to use the Scripture terms, having *put a ring into his nose, and a bit into his mouth*, as a wild beast, made him return in that humble afflicted condition, through those very countries which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his disgrace, he treated his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner. The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites, of whom he caused great numbers to be massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial.<sup>2</sup> Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper rendered him so insupportable to his own family, that his two eldest sons conspired against him, and killed him in the temple, in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him.<sup>3</sup> But these two princes, being obliged, after this parricide, to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esar-haddon, their youngest brother.

**ESAR-HADDON.**<sup>4</sup> We have already observed, that after Merodach-Baladan, there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an interregnum of eight years, full of troubles and

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings, xix. 35—37.

<sup>2</sup> Tobit, i. 13—24.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings, xix. 57.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Cant. Ptol.

commotions. Esar-haddon taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon, and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having reunited Syria and Palestine to the Assyrian empire, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he entered the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. And that the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled; *within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people.*<sup>1</sup> This was exactly the space of time that elapsed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Israel did then truly cease to be a visible nation, what was left to them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

This prince, having possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his generals with a part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country likewise under his subjection. These generals defeated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esar-haddon, who put him in chains, and carried him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

Meantime, the colonies that had been sent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievously infested with lions. The king of Babylon, being told that the cause of this calamity was their not worshipping the God of the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them, from among the captives taken in that country, to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolaters, contented with admitting the true God among their ancient divinities, worshipped him jointly with their false gods. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the source of the aversion entertained by the Jews against the Samaritans.<sup>3</sup>

Esar-haddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son.

SAOSDUCHINUS.<sup>4</sup> This prince is called in Scripture, Nebuchodonosor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is called Nebuchodonosor I.

Tobit was still alive at this time, and dwelt among other captives at Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold to his children the sudden destruction of that city, of which there was not then the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city before its ruin came on, and to depart as soon as they had buried him and his wife.

*The ruin of Nineveh is at hand, says the good old man, abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. These last words are very remarkable, the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. Men will be apt to impute the*

<sup>1</sup> Isa. vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11—13.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings, xvii. 25—41.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669.

<sup>5</sup> Tobit, xiv. 5—13.

ruin of Nineveh to any other reason, but we are taught by the Holy Ghost that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with other states that imitate her crimes.

Nebuchodonosor defeated the king of the Medes in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign, upon the plain of Ragau; he took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and returned triumphant to Nineveh.<sup>1</sup> When we come to treat of the history of the Medes, we shall give a more particular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was besieged by Holofernes, one of Nebuchodonosor's generals; and that the famous enterprise of Judith was accomplished.

SARACUS, otherwise called CHYNA-LADANUS.<sup>2</sup> This prince succeeded Saosduchinus, and having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years.

NABOPOLASSAR.<sup>3</sup> This prince, the better to maintain his usurped sovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly destroyed that great city. We shall treat more extensively of this great event when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forward the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Assyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Necho, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that to stop their progress, he marched towards the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians for what concerns this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.

Nabopolassar, finding that, after the taking of Carchemish, by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nebuchodonosor partner with him in the empire, and sent him away with an army, to reduce those countries to their former subjection.<sup>4</sup>

From this time the Jews began to reckon the years of Nebuchodonosor, viz.: from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.<sup>5</sup>

NEBUCHODONOSOR II., or NEBUCHADNEZZAR.<sup>6</sup> This prince defeated Necho's army near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and reunited those provinces to his dominions.

He likewise entered Judea, besieged Jerusalem, and took it; he

<sup>1</sup> Judith, i. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 643. Alex. Polyhist.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.

<sup>4</sup> Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11, et con. Ap. l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 606.

<sup>6</sup> Jer. xlv. 2. 2 Kings, xxiv. 7.



caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to his throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and among them some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treasures of the king's palace and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple were likewise transported.<sup>1</sup> Thus was the judgment which God had denounced by the prophet Isaiah to King Hezekiah accomplished. From this famous epoch, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but eighteen years old, was carried captive among the rest, and Ezekiel some time afterwards.

Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, died, after having reigned one and twenty years.<sup>2</sup> As soon as his son Nebuchodonosor was informed of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desert, attended only by a small retinue, leaving the main body of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of those who had carefully preserved it for him, and so succeeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which, according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

In the fourth year of his reign, he had a dream, at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind.<sup>3</sup> He thereupon consulted the wise men and diviners of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the substance of his dream. They all answered, that it was beyond the reach of their art to divine the thing itself, and that the utmost they could do was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with opposition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nebuchodonosor, imagining that they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to death. Daniel and his three companions were included in the sentence, as being ranked among the wise men. But Daniel, having first invoked his God, desired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. "The thing thou sawest," said he, "was an image of an enormous size, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And, as the king was attentively looking upon that vision, behold, a stone was cut out of a mountain, without hands, and the stone smote the image upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." When Daniel had related the dream, he also gave the king the interpretation thereof, showing him that it signified the three great empires which were to succeed that of

<sup>1</sup> Dan. i. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. Ptol. Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11, et con. Ap. l. x.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3491. Ant. J. C. 603. Dan. c. ii.

the Assyrians, namely, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or, according to some, that of the successors of Alexander the Great. "After these kingdoms," continued Daniel, "shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever." By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The king, ravished with admiration and astonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared that the God of the Israelites was really the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governors over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honours and dignities.

At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the kingdom of Babylon, whose generals, that were still in Judea, marched against him, and committed all kinds of hostilities against his country.<sup>1</sup> *He slept with his fathers*, is all the Scripture says of his death. Jeremiah had prophesied that he should neither be regretted nor lamented; but should *be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem*: this was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

Jechonias<sup>2</sup> succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months time he, himself, came at the head of his army and made himself master of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple; he carried away, likewise, a vast number of captives, among whom were king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise called Zedekiah.

This prince had as little religion and prosperity as his forefathers<sup>3</sup> Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter soon chastised him for it, and immediately laid siege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army, gave the besieged some hopes; but their joy was of very short duration; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned to Jerusalem, and renewed the siege, which lasted nearly twelve months. At last the city was taken by storm, and a terrible slaughter ensued.<sup>4</sup> Zedekiah's two sons were, by Nebuchadnezzar's orders, killed before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judea: Zedekiah himself had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burned and all their fortifications demolished.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings, xxiv. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Kings, xxiv. 17—20, and xxv. 1—10.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlas*, Jehoiachin. 2 Kings, xxiv. 6—18.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 589.

Upon Nebuchadnezzar's return to Babylon, after his successful war against Judea, he ordered a golden statue to be made sixty cubits high,<sup>1</sup> assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. It was upon this occasion, that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refused to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preserved after a miraculous manner, in the midst of the flames. The king, himself, a witness of this astonishing miracle, published an edict whereby all persons whatever were forbid, upon pain of death, to speak anything against the god of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.<sup>2</sup>

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, marched again into Syria, and besieged Tyre, under the reign of Ithobal. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which had never been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce, by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth and magnificence.<sup>3</sup> It was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of the inhabitants made their escape in ships, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reason we find it called in Isaiah, *the daughter of Sidon*.<sup>4</sup> But the daughter soon surpassed the mother in grandeur, riches and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist, thirteen years together, a monarch, to whose yoke all the rest of the East had submitted.

It was not till after so many years, that Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre.<sup>5</sup> His troops suffered incredible hardships before it; so that, according to the prophet's expression, *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*.<sup>6</sup> Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, half a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory of which extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of ancient Tyre.

Nebuchadnezzar and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege, and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had rendered Almighty God, (it is the expression of the prophet,) in executing his vengeance upon that city, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt as a recompense.<sup>7</sup> And indeed Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt soon after, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians. When this prince happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he put the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus,<sup>8</sup> an account

<sup>1</sup> Ninety feet.    <sup>2</sup> Dan. iii.    <sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii.    Isa. xxiii. 8.    Just. l. xviii. c. 3.

Isa. xxiii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. Ant. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. 1.

Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxix. 18—20.

<sup>6</sup> Antiq. l. x. c. 11

of the magnificent structures ascribed to this monarch by several writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

While nothing seemed wanting to complete Nebuchadnezzar's happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose, and filled him with great anxiety. He dreamed "he saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great: the tree grew and was strong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven and cried, Hew down the tree, and cut off its branches, shake off its leaves, and scatter its fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from its branches.

Nevertheless, leave the stump of its roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let its portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones, to the intent that the living may know, that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."<sup>1</sup>

The king, justly alarmed at this terrible dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king's own person, plainly declaring to him, "That he should be driven from the company of men for seven years, should be reduced to the condition and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and feed upon grass like a bullock: that his kingdom nevertheless should be preserved for him, and he should repossess his throne, when he should have learned to know and acknowledge, that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven. After this, he exhorteth him to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor."

All these things came to pass upon Nebuchadnezzar, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said, "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? and yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced his sentence: "In the same hour, his understanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws."

<sup>1</sup> Dan. iv.

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recovered his senses, and the use of his understanding: "He lifted up his eyes unto heaven," says the Scripture, "and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion and whose kingdom is from generation to generation:" confessing, "that all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What dost thou?" Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Being affected with the most sincere gratitude, he caused, by a solemn edict, to be published through the whole extent of his dominions, what astonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this, Nebuchadnezzar died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the East. He was succeeded by his son,

**EVIL-MERODACH.**<sup>1</sup> As soon as he was settled on the throne, he released Jechonias, king of Judah, out of prison, where he had been confined near seven and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which lasted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel; the innocent artifice, by which he contrived to kill the dragon which was worshipped as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

Evil-Merodach rendered himself so odious by his debauchery, and other extravagancies, that his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death.<sup>2</sup>

**NERIGLISSAR**, his sister's husband, and one of the chief conspirators, reigned in his stead.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately on his accession to the crown, he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxeres send for Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was slain in battle, in the fourth year of his reign.

**LABOROSOARCHOD**,<sup>4</sup> his son, succeeded to the throne. He was a very wicked prince. Being naturally of the most vicious inclinations, he indulged them without restraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been invested with sovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own subjects conspiring against him, put him to death. His successor was

**LABYNTI**, or **NABONID**.<sup>5</sup> This prince had likewise other names, and in Scripture that of Belshazzar. It is reasonably supposed that he was the son of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and consequently

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 563. 2 Kings, xxv. 27—30.

<sup>2</sup> Beros. Megasthenes.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. i.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 554.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

grandson to Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the East were to be subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him: *all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land shall come.*<sup>1</sup>

Nitocris raised many noble edifices in Babylon; she caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription, dissuading her successors from touching the treasures laid up in it without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remained unopened till the reign of Darius, who upon his breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures with which he had flattered himself, found nothing but the following inscription:

*"If thou hadst not an insatiable thirst after money, and a most sordid, avaricious soul, thou wouldst never have broken open the monuments of the dead."*<sup>2</sup>

In the first year of Belshazzar's reign, Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them.<sup>3</sup> In the third year of the same reign, he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat, which prefigured the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, should bring upon the Jews.<sup>4</sup> I shall hereafter make some reflections upon these prophecies, and give a more particular account of them.

Belshazzar, while his enemies were besieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing.<sup>5</sup> The joy of this feast was greatly disturbed by a vision, and still more so by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belshazzar killed.

Thus ended the Babylonish empire, after having subsisted two hundred and ten years, from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.<sup>6</sup>

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MEDES.

I OBSERVED, in speaking of the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire,<sup>7</sup> that Arbaces, general of the Medes, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus; and several writers believed that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xvii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Her. l. i. cap. 185, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Dan. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. viii.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. v.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

The Assyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour; but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy, worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence and rapine, prevailed every where, because there was no one that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than it ever was before.<sup>1</sup>

The nation of the Medes was then divided into tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person, seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of these troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He enjoyed great reputation in his own country, and passed for a man, not only regular in his conduct, but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary for a governor.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever; he succeeded so well that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence, and his cares were attended with all the success expected from them, for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, who were perpetually in disorder, observing the regularity Dejoces had introduced in the place where he presided as judge, began to address themselves to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces which they could meet with no where else.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judged it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the accomplishment of his object. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be over-fatigued with the multitude of people that resorted to him from all quarters, and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to the public tranquillity. Whenever any persons addressed themselves to him, he told them that his own domestic affairs would not allow him to attend to those of other people.

The licentiousness which had been for some time restrained by the management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as soon as he had withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs, and the evil increased to such a degree, that the Medes were obliged to assemble, and deliberate upon the means of curing so dangerous a disorder.

There are different sorts of ambition; some persons, violent and impetuous, carrying everything as it were by storm, restrained by no

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 95.

kind of cruelty or murder; another sort, more gentle, like those we are speaking of, put on an appearance of moderation and justice, and yet, by clandestine means, arrive at their point as surely as the other. Dejoces, who saw things succeeding according to his wish, sent his emissaries to the assembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the public evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented that, unless the state of the republic was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice that now reigned in all parts would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved, and the whole company was convinced that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing, then, to be done, was to choose a king, which did not take long for deliberation. They all agreed there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces, so that he was immediately, with common consent, elected king.

If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatever, we shall find that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original design of monarchy. Indeed, there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace, if all men were resolved to be independent, and would not submit to an authority which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preserve the rest. Mankind must be perpetually at war, if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and safety, they must have a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. And the Scriptures teach us that Divine Providence has not only allowed the project, and the execution of it, but consecrated it likewise by an immediate communication of his own power.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing certainly more noble and great than to see a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employment, and yet, through inclination and modesty, preferring a life of obscurity and retirement; than to see such a man sincerely refuse the offer made to him of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, from no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow-citizens. His first disposition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and consequently with the dangers annexed to sovereign power, shows him to have a soul more elevated and great than greatness itself; or, to speak more justly, a soul superior to all ambition; nothing can show him so perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being so, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generously sacrifices his own quiet

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiii. 1, 2.



and satisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, it is plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redressing various evils; of causing law and justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty; and he comforts himself for the cares and troubles to which he is exposed, by the prospect of the many benefits resulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa at Rome, and such have been some other emperors whom the people have constrained to accept the supreme power.

It must be owned, I cannot help repeating it, that there is nothing more noble or great than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Dejoce did; to affect to appear outwardly, what a man is not inwardly; to refuse for a time, and then accept with a seeming repugnancy, what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret under-hand practices to obtain; has so much meanness in it, that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and greatly eclipses his merit, be his talents at the same time ever so extraordinary.

DEJOCEs reigned fifty-three years.<sup>1</sup> When Dejoce had ascended the throne, he endeavoured to convince the people that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring order. At first, he resolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire awe and respect for his person. He obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged most fit to be his guards.

After having thus provided for his own security, he applied himself to polish and civilize his subjects, who, having been accustomed to live in the country, and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted a savage disposition. To this end, he commanded them to build a city, himself marking out the place and circumference of the walls. This city was surrounded with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures; in the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household; and the intermediate spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people; the first and largest enclosure was about the size of Athens. The name of the city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for, besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the several parapets were painted, formed a delightful variety.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Her. l. i. 96—101.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his attention to composing laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off, *major ex longinquo reverentia*,<sup>1</sup> he began to keep himself at a distance from his people, was almost inaccessible and invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak, or communicate their affairs to him but only by petitions, and the interposition of his officers. And even those that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This great statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For, having to deal with men yet uncivilized, and not very capable judges of true merit, he was afraid that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against a growing power, which is generally looked upon with envy and discontent. But by keeping himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wise laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of all his subjects.

It is said that from the innermost parts of his palace he knew everything that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means, no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment closely following the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain degree during his administration; but there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniences necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates; the custom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies, dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their sincerity for the truth of facts, of not suffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons, to be conveyed to him in any other way than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that stopped up all avenues to remonstrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greatest injustice themselves, with so much the more ease and assurance, as their iniquity remained undiscovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this, that very affectation in princes of being invisible, shows them to be conscious of their slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was so wholly taken up in humanizing and softening the manners, and making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprise against his neighbours, though he reigned for the long period of fifty-three years.

PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two years.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Dejoces,

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 657. Her. c. 102.

his son Phraortes, otherwise called Aphraartes,<sup>1</sup> succeeded. The sole affinity between these two names would make one believe that this is the king called in Scripture Arphaxad; but that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in Father Montfaucon's learned dissertation, of which I have made great use in this treatise. The passage in Judith, *that Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatana*, has deceived most authors, and made them believe that Arphaxad must be Dejeoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar translation renders *ædificavit*, only says, *that Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana*.<sup>2</sup> And what can be more natural than that the father not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting?

Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attacked the Persians, and defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all Upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of Mount Taurus, from Media, as far as the river Halys.<sup>3</sup>

Elated with his success, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time, indeed, weakened through the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nebushodonosor, their king, otherwise called Saosduchinus, raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to several other nations of the East, to require their assistance.<sup>4</sup> They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his ambassadors, letting him see that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned, and thrown into disorder, and Nebuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then, taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquests even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nebuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that, he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was still very numerous, and for four months together, did nothing but feast and divert himself with those that had accompanied him in this expedition.

<sup>1</sup> He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Græc., and by Geor. Synæcl. Judith, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπιβάθυναι ἐπὶ Ἐκβατανῶν. Judith. Text. Gr.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 104.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek text places these embassies before the battle.

In Judith, we read that the king of Assyria sent Holofernes, with a powerful army, to revenge himself of those that had refused him succours. The progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in hopes that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book.

CYAXARES I. reigned forty years.<sup>1</sup> This prince succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave, enterprising prince, and knew how to take advantage of the late overthrow of the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all upper Asia. But his most ardent wish was to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

The Assyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of the great army which was destroyed before Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Assyrians were defeated, and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling into his hands, but that the time was not yet come when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner :

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madyes in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who were advancing into Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this irruption, raised the siege of Nineveh and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was about to overrun all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The barbarians finding no other obstacle in their way, overspread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that, they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammeticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient temple dedicated to that goddess. Some of these Scythians settled at Bethshean, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians, for the space of twenty-eight years, were masters of Upper Asia ; namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia ; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a treacherous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition the

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3369. Ant. J. C. 635. Herod. l. i. c. 103—106.

Scythians were massacred. The Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient western boundary.

The remaining Scythians, who were not at the banquet, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Halyttes, who received them with great humanity.<sup>1</sup> This occasioned a war between those two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years, with almost equal advantage on both sides. The battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable, on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, when on a sudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides, and made peace. Siennesis, king of Cilicia, and Nebuchodonosor,<sup>2</sup> king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render the friendship more firm and inviolable, the two princes agreed to strengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed that Halyttes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, eldest son of Cyaxares.

The manner those people had of contracting alliance with one another, is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, the following was peculiar to themselves, namely, the two contracting parties made incisions in their own arms, and licked one another's blood.

The first care of Cyaxares, as soon as he found himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruptions of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in the league against the Assyrians. Having, therefore, united their forces, they besieged Nineveh, took it, killed Saracus, the king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.<sup>3</sup>

God had foretold by his prophets, above a hundred years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his servants, with which the kings thereof had gorged themselves like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciless hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed, that not so much as a trace of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereafter, where did the proud city of Nineveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves; "Woe to the bloody city, cries Nahum; it is all full of lies and robbery:<sup>4</sup> he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 74.

<sup>2</sup> In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626. Herod. l. i. c. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Nahum, ii. l.

to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and Israel.<sup>1</sup> I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear.<sup>2</sup> The shield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning.<sup>3</sup> God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? And who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?<sup>4</sup> Behold, I am with thee, saith the Lord of hosts; I will strip thee of all thy ornaments.<sup>5</sup> Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown, she is desolate.<sup>6</sup> The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.<sup>7</sup> And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves tabouring upon their breasts.<sup>8</sup> I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases;<sup>9</sup> and there is no end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses.<sup>10</sup> Where is the dwelling of lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses; and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine?<sup>11</sup> The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling place for wild beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, it shall be said, see that proud city, which was so stately, and so exalted; which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her, shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures."<sup>12</sup>

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares prosecuting his victories, made himself master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolassar.

After this expedition, Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his son Astyages.

ASTYAGES reigned thirty-five years.<sup>13</sup> This prince is called in Scripture Ahasuerus. Though his reign continued no less than thirty-five years, yet we have no particulars recorded of it in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandana by a former marriage. In his father's lifetime,

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii. 1, 2.<sup>2</sup> Chap. iii. 2, 3.<sup>3</sup> Chap. ii. 3, 4.<sup>4</sup> Nahum, i. 2, 5, 6.<sup>5</sup> Chap. iii. 5.<sup>6</sup> Chap. ii. 9, 10.<sup>7</sup> The author in this place renders it, her temple is destroyed to the foundation. But I have chosen to follow our English Bible, though in the Latin it is *templum*.<sup>8</sup> Nahum, ii. 6.<sup>9</sup> Chap. iii. 3.<sup>10</sup> This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Assyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, especially Judea, and carried away the spoils of them to Nineveh.<sup>11</sup> Nahum, ii. 11, 12.<sup>12</sup> Zephan. ii. 13—15.<sup>13</sup> A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595

he married Mandana to Cambyses, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia; from this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

CYAXARES II. This prince is, in Scripture, called Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyses, he united the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians into one; in the sequel, therefore, of this discourse, they will be considered only as one empire. I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus; which will include also what is known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Cræsus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

THE kings who first reigned over the Lydians, are, by Herodotus, called Atyades; that is, descendant from Atys.<sup>1</sup> These, he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who, before his time, were called Mæonians.

These Atyades were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of five hundred and five years.

ARGO, great-grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Lydia.<sup>2</sup>

The last was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty, and being infatuated by his passion for her, was perpetually boasting of her charms to others. Nothing would serve him but that Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see and judge of them by his own eyes,<sup>3</sup> as if the husband's own knowledge of them was not sufficient for his happiness, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his silence. For this purpose, the king placed Gyges secretly in a convenient place; but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it; judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty, she studied a signal revenge for the injury she had received, and to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly a secret passion for Gyges had as great a share in that action as her resentment for the dishonour done her.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 7—13.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 1232.

<sup>3</sup> Non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia—prorsus quasi silentium damnus puritatis esset.—Justin. l. i. c. 7.

Be that as it will, she sent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime either by his own death, or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose, he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules, became master of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom passed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Merminades.<sup>1</sup>

Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning, in this place, what is related by Herodotus, that among the Lydians, and almost all other barbarians, it was considered shameful and infamous even for a man to appear naked. These instances of modesty, which are met with among pagans, ought to be greatly admired. We are assured, that among the Romans, a son, who was come to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law; and this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as a law of nature, the violation of which was criminal.<sup>2</sup> It is astonishing, that among us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which, in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.

Plato relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that, by means of that ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies that, in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. The story, thus explained, carries in it a greater appearance of truth than what we read in Herodotus.<sup>3</sup>

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, that if a wise man had such a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because *virtus* considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.<sup>4</sup>

GYGES<sup>5</sup> reigned thirty-eight years. The murder of Candaules raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, who declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large presents to the temple at Delphos, which undoubtedly preceded,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2386. Ant. J. C. 718.

<sup>2</sup> Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi, non lavantur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim natura ipsa magistra et duce.—Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Nudare se nefas esse credebatur.—Val. Max. l. ii. cap. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> Hunc ipsum anulum si habeat sapiens, nihil plus sibi licere potest peccare, quam si nec haberet. Honestas enim bonis viris, non occulte, quaruntur.—Lib. iiii. de Offic. n. 23.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718. Herod. l. i. c. 13, 44.



and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value, Herodotus mentions six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, he made war against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years he died, and was succeeded by his son,

ARDYS,<sup>2</sup> who reigned forty-nine years. It was in the reign of this prince that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythian Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of Sardis, but not the citadel.

SADYATTES<sup>3</sup> reigned twelve years. This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finished that of Miletus, and was succeeded by his son.

HALYTTES<sup>4</sup> reigned fifty-seven years. This prince made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attacked and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously prosecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father, and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyttes, upon an answer received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasylulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn, and other provisions, collected by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market, and commanded the citizens, that at the appearance of a given signal, there should be general feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador, at his arrival, was in the utmost surprise to see such a plenty in the market, and such cheerfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, preferred peace to so fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

CRÆSUS.<sup>5</sup> His very name, which is become a proverb, carries in it an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphos, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. We may partly account for the treasures of this prince, from certain mines that he had, situated, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnes; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had not the same advantage.<sup>6</sup>

It is worthy of notice that this uncommon affluence did not enervate

<sup>1</sup> About \$218,120.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3373. Ant. J. C. 631. Herod. l. i. c. 16—22.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619. Herod. c. 21, 22.

A. M. 3442. Ant. J. C. 562.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680. Herod. l. i. c. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. l. xiii. p. 625, and l. xiv. p. 639

or soften the courage of Croesus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. On the contrary, he was constantly engaged in war, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks settled in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

But what is still more extraordinary in this prince, though he was so immensely rich, and so great a warrior, yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those famous learned men, so revered by antiquity, distinguished by the name of the seven wise men of Greece.

Solon, one of the most celebrated among them, after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and splendour, dressed in the most magnificent apparel, enriched with gold, and glittering with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the least moved at it, or that he uttered a word which discovered the least surprise or admiration. On the contrary, people of sense might sufficiently discern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all this outward pomp as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatness and dignity consist. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.<sup>2</sup>

He afterwards ordered that all his treasures, his magnificent apartments, and costly furniture, should be exhibited to him; as if he expected, by the multitude of his fine vessels, diamonds, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indifference. But these things were not the king; and it was the king that Solon had come to visit, and not the walls or chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself, and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and destitute.

When Solon had seen all, he was brought back to the king. Croesus then asked him, which of mankind, in all his travels, he had found the most truly happy? "One Tellus," replied Solon, "a citizen of Athens, a very honest and good man, who lived all his days without indigence, had always seen his country in a flourishing condition, had children that were universally esteemed, with the satisfaction of seeing those children's children, and at last died gloriously in fighting for his country."

Such an answer as this, in which gold and silver were accounted as

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 26—28.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 29—33. Plut. in Solone, p. 92, 94.

nothing, seemed to Croesus to argue a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flattered himself of being ranked in the second degree of happiness, he asked him, "who of all those he had seen, was the next in felicity to Tellus?" Solon answered, "Cleobis and Biton, of Argos, two brothers,<sup>1</sup> who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due from children to their parents. Upon a solemn festival, when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two sons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot thither, which was above five miles distant. All the mothers of the place, filled with admiration, congratulated the priestess on the piety of her sons. She, in the transports of her joy and thankfulness, earnestly entreated the goddess to reward her children with the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the sacrifice was over, her two sons fell asleep in the very temple, and there died in a soft and peaceful slumber.<sup>2</sup> In honour of their piety, the people of Argos consecrated statues to them in the temple of Delphos."

"What, then," says Croesus, in a tone that showed his discontent, "you do not reckon me in the number of the happy?" Solon, who was not willing either to flatter, or exasperate him any farther, replied calmly: "King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which has produced among us a plain, popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or ostentation, and therefore not well suited to the courts of kings; this philosophy, considering what an infinite number of vicissitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any prosperity we ourselves enjoy, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient or superficial." From hence he took occasion to represent to him farther, "that the life of man seldom exceeds seventy years, which make up in all six thousand two hundred and fifty days, of which no two are exactly alike; so that the time to come is nothing but a series of various accidents which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion," continued he, "no man can be esteemed happy, but he whose happiness God continues to the end of his life; as for others, who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain as the crown is to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory." Solon retired when he had spoken these words, which served only to mortify Croesus, but not to reform him.<sup>3</sup>

Æsop, the author of the fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and said to him by way of advice,<sup>4</sup> "Solon, we must either not come near princes at all, or speak

<sup>1</sup> Φιλοκλήδης καὶ φιλομήτρως διαφερόντως ἄνδρες.

<sup>2</sup> The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

<sup>3</sup> Αὐχέσας μὲν, ἢ νυθεύσας δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον.

<sup>4</sup> Ἡ Σόλων (ἴφη) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δει ὡς ἦναι ἢ ὡς ἦναι ἄομιλιν. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων. Μὲν Δὲ (ἴτωλλ') ἄε κριετα ἢ ὡς ἄριστα. The jingle of the words ὡς ἦναι ἢ ὡς ἦναι, which is a beauty in the original, because it is founded in the sense, cannot be rendered into any other language.

things that are agreeable to them." "Say rather," replied Solon, "that we should either never come near them at all, or else speak such things as may be for their good."

In Plutarch's time, some of the learned were of opinion that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several creditable writers, by whom this story is attested.

What we have now related of Cræsus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery; and shows us, at the same time, the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one is, a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and judging favourably of all that admire them, or show an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is, the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect; which is sometimes counterfeited so exactly, that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Cræsus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good nature, affability, and humanity. His palace was a resort for men of wit and learning, which shows that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for sciences. His weakness was, that he laid a great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions, mistook regal pomp and splendour for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those that stood in a kind of adoration before him.

Those learned men, those wits, and other courtiers, who surrounded this prince, eat at his table, partook of his pleasures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality, took care not to differ from the prince's taste, and never thought of undeceiving him with respect to his errors or false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and strengthen them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; because they knew this was the sure way to please him, and to secure his favour. For flattery is nothing else than a commerce of falsehood and lying, founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other. The flatterer desires to advance himself, and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a more subtle and better prepared poison than any adulation can give him.

The saying of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still retained somewhat of the spirit and character of slavery, though he had varnished it over with the address of an artful courtier; "that we should either not come near kings, or say what is agreeable to them," shows us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all sincerity, integrity, and duty from his

presence. Therefore we see he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have set an infinite value, as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to self-love at the present, but that may prove very salutary and serviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, sed quod audisse semper volunt.* These are Seneca's own words, where he is endeavouring to show, of what great use a faithful and sincere friend may be to a prince; and what he adds farther, seems to be written on purpose for Cræsus: "Give him," says he, "wholesome advice. Let a word of truth once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You'll ask me, what service can be done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of felicity? It will teach him not to trust to his prosperity; it will remove that vain confidence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; make him understand, that every thing which belongs to and depends upon fortune, is as unstable as herself; and that there is often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation, and the most unhappy downfall."<sup>1</sup>

It was not long before Cræsus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him. He had two sons, one of whom being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great consolation and delight. The father dreamed one night, which made a great impression upon his mind, that this beloved son of his was to perish by iron. This became a new source of anxiety and trouble, and care was taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partisans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention was made of armies, wars, or sieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly importuned his father, that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but let him go under the care of a discreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus. And this very Adrastus, as he was aiming to throw his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. It is impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, stabbing himself in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral-pile of the unfortunate Atys.<sup>2</sup>

Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mourning, the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had

<sup>1</sup> Plenas aureos adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret; da consilium utile. Quæris, quid felici præstare possis? Effice, ne felicitati suæ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, si illi semel stultam fiduciam permansuræ semper potentis excusseris, docuerisque mobilia esse quæ dedit cæsus: ac sæpe inter fortunam maximam et ultimam nihil interessa. — Sen. de Benef. l. vi. c. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 34, 35.

sustained. But the growing reputation and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himself known, roused him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterprise without consulting the gods. But, that he might not act blindly, and to be able to form a certain judgment on the answers he should receive, he was willing to assure himself beforehand of the truth of the oracles: for which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to inquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Croesus was doing on such a day and such an hour, as before agreed on. His orders were punctually observed, and of all the oracles, none gave a true answer but that of Delphos. The answer was given in Greek hexameter verses, and was in substance as follows: *I know the number of the grains of sand on the sea-shore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learned to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise boiled in brass, together with sheep's flesh, has reached my nostrils, brass beneath, brass above.* And indeed, the king, thinking to invent something that could not possibly be guessed at, had employed himself, on the day and hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot, which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God to punish the blindness of the pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformably to the truth.<sup>1</sup>

Croesus, thus assured of the god's veracity, whom he designed to consult, offered three thousand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of a hundred and seventeen, to augment the treasures of the Delphic temple. Each of these ingots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents: among them Herodotus mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary size, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and a half, and twelve minæ; the other of silver, which contained six hundred of the measures called amphoras. All these presents, and many more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

The messengers were ordered to consult the god upon two points; first, whether Croesus should undertake a war against the Persians; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians, he would subvert a great empire; upon the second, he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was, it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media; which he construed to signify the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the directions of the oracle, Croesus entered into an alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 46—56.

head, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

A certain Lydian, much esteemed for his prudence, gave Croesus on this occasion very judicious advice. "O prince," says he to him, "why do you think of turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, who, being born in a wild rugged country, are inured from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue; who being coarsely clad, and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniences of life; who, in a word, have nothing to lose if you conquer them, and every thing to gain if they conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they should once come to taste the sweets and advantages of it? So far, therefore, from thinking of commencing a war against them, it is my opinion we ought to thank the gods, that they have never put it into the heads of the Persians to come and attack the Lydians." But Croesus had taken his resolution, and would not be diverted from it.<sup>1</sup>

What remains of the history of Croesus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I shall now commence.

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<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 71.

## BOOK FOURTH.

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### THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE

OF THE

## MEDES AND PERSIANS,

BY CYRUS.

CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF

CYRUS, CAMBYSES, AND SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

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#### PLAN.

These three reigns will be the subject-matter of the Fourth Book. But as the two latter are very short, and contain few important facts, this book, properly speaking, may be called the History of Cyrus.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE HISTORY OF CYRUS.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as infinitely more worthy of credit in this respect than the former. As to those facts wherein they differ, I shall briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known, that Xenophon served a long time under Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, who was of an inquisitive mind, often conversed, that he might acquaint himself by these means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*: "Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure in informing myself of his birth, his natural temper, and education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince: and herein I advance nothing but what has been related to me."



As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, "that Xenophon's design, in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government;"<sup>1</sup> this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write the history of Cyrus, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the art of governing, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true: and of this their conformity with the holy Scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertations of the Abbé Banier upon this subject, in the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Polite Literature.<sup>2</sup>

For greater perspicuity I have divided the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon; the second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with everything else that relates to that great event; the third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

## ARTICLE I.

### THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM HIS INFANCY TO THE SIEGE OF BABYLON.

This interval, besides his education, and the journey he made to his grandfather Astyages, in Media, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

#### SECTION I.—EDUCATION OF CYRUS.

CYRUS was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and of Mandana, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes.<sup>3</sup> He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana.<sup>4</sup>

The Persians consisted at this time of twelve tribes, who inhabited only one province of that vast country which has since borne the name of Persia, and did not amount to more than one hundred and twenty thousand men. But this people having afterwards, through the wisdom and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of land, which reaches from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean.<sup>5</sup>

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good

<sup>1</sup> *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte, non ad historię fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justı imperii.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi. p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3465. Ant. J. C. 599.

<sup>5</sup> Persia continued to occupy the same extent of territory, until the kingdom of Cabul was recently erected from the eastern part.

nature and humanity, and had a great desire to learn, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent in those days with respect to education.

The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often render them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where everything was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigue of war to a good old age.<sup>1</sup>

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished among them, was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults than to punish them: and whereas, in other states, the legislators are satisfied with establishing punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals among them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age, the boys remained in the class of children, in which they learned to draw the bow, and to throw the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this class they were more narrowly watched, and kept in stricter subjection than before, because that age requires the closest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure themselves to fatigue. In the daytime they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king in his hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up, and formed; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of these, all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When fifty years of age, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. i. p. 3—8.

By these means every citizen might aspire to the chief posts in the government; but no one could arrive at them till he had passed through all these several classes, and made himself capable of them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.<sup>1</sup>

JOURNEY OF CYRUS TO HIS GRANDFATHER ASTYAGES, AND HIS  
RETURN INTO PERSIA.

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandana took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who from the many things he had heard in favour of the young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence, reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his eyes coloured,<sup>2</sup> his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life; to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery had no effect upon Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was content to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained the favour of all by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vast plenty and profusion of everything that was nice and delicate. Cyrus looked upon all this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation with great indifference, and observing that it excited the surprise of Astyages, "The Persians," says he to the king, "instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose." Astyages desiring Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. i. p. 8—22.

<sup>2</sup> The ancients, in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexion, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. It is said of Jezebel, "Depinxit oculos suos stibio," 2 Kings, ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality which shrunk up the eyelids, and made the eyes appear larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty.—Pins. l. xxxiii. c. 6. From hence comes that epithet which Homer so often gives to his goddesses.—Sædæ: "Hæp, great-eyed Juno.

the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to show his resentment. Astyages manifesting some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular regard, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him; "Is that all, father?" replied Cyrus; "if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he." Cyrus immediately equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace that charmed both Astyages and Mandana. When he had done, he threw himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone. I shall have thy place."<sup>1</sup> Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said, "I am highly pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve with a better grace; but you have forgot one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting." And, indeed, the cup-bearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king. "No," replied Cyrus, "it was not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony." "Why then," says Astyages, "for what reason did you not do it?" "Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor." "Poison, child! how could you think so?" "Yes, poison, father, for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what; you yourself, seemed to have forgot that you were king, and they, that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs." "Why," says Astyages, "have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?" "No, never," says Cyrus. "What then? How is it with him when he drinks?" "Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that is all."

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian, in giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story. He might have done it in a serious grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, although a great warrior, was as excellent a philosopher as his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which in the original is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated requests his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, beneficent.

<sup>1</sup> Ω Σάκας, ἀπο' αὐλας, ἐπέλαθ' αὐτῆς τρυφῆς.

and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his, and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the Babylonians,<sup>1</sup> (this was Evil-Merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar,) at a hunting match a short time before his marriage, thought fit to show his bravery by making an irruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved so well on this occasion, that the victory which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

The year after, his father recalling him, that he might accomplish his time in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion showed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they saw that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

#### SECTION III.—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CYRUS, WHO GOES TO SUCCOUR HIS UNCLE CYAXARES AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.

ASTYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother.<sup>3</sup> Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and among others Croesus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him unjust

<sup>1</sup> In Xenophon, this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital city.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. i. p. 23—47

impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations, already so powerful, might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares, therefore, despatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry, for the Persians had as yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised in a particular manner. First of all, Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of whom was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all; and these were the officers that were called *Quadrupes*,<sup>1</sup> and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pikemen, ten slingers, and ten bowmen, which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having highly praised for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. "Do you know," says he to them, "the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting the toil of war, or the sight of danger; whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to your meals; fatigues are your pleasures, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of our cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and they are our friends and allies that require our aid. Can anything be more just than to repel the injury they would bring upon us? Is there anything more honorable than to fly to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection; for you know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

Soon after, Cyrus set out without loss of time; but before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the Divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyses had often taught him to consider that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their

<sup>1</sup> Men of the same dignity.

ruin ; whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is most expedient for them, which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.<sup>1</sup>

Cambyses accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia ; and, in the way, gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. "Have your masters," says Cambyses to him, "given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers ; of strengthening their bodies by frequent exercises ; of exciting a generous emulation among them ; of making yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved by your soldiers ?" Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your masters have taught you ?" "They have taught me to fence," replied the prince, "to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp." Cambyses, smiling, gave his son to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer, and an expert commander to know. And in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. I shall give but one short instance of this discourse, which may give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, what are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive ? "The way to effect that," says Cyrus, "seems to be very easy, and very certain ; it is only to praise and reward those that obey, and to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty." "You say well," replied Cambyses, "that is the way to make them obey you by force ; but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now, the sure method of effecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves ; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from whence that blind submission proceeds, which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship's company to their pilot. Their obedience is only founded upon their persuasion that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and knowing in their respective callings than themselves." "But what shall a man do," says Cyrus to his father, "to appear more skilful and expert than others ?" "He must be really so," replied Cambyses ; "and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely

to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprises; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success."

As soon as Cyrus had reached Cyaxeres, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarcely amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxeres in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser; Cyrus was of opinion, that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was mightily approved, and instantly put in execution.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops, and inspired them with a surprising emulation by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he set upon it was to give it away. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour.<sup>2</sup> "A commander could not," he said, "give actual proofs of his munificence to every body, and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good will; for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and humanity, by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so."<sup>3</sup>

One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxeres, to acquaint him that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indians, he desired his presence immediately. "For that purpose," says he, "I have brought you a rich garment, for the king desires that you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. ii. p. 38—40.    <sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.    <sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 207.    <sup>4</sup> Cyrop. l. ii. p. 56.



Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king, though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not as the Greek text has it, polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament.<sup>1</sup> Cyaxeres seeming at first a little displeas'd at it: "If I had dressed myself in purple," says Cyrus, "and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that, had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now, by my expedition and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and despatch your orders are obeyed?"

Cyaxeres, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king, their master, to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians; and that they had orders, as soon as they heard what the Medes had to say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part; to the end that the king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power: to be influenced only by justice, to consult no advantage from the division of neighbours, but to declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxeres and Cyrus answered, that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel that he declared for the Medes.

The king of Armenia, who was vassal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of this occasion to shake off their yoke.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxeres, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some days hunting, when they had nearly reached the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysanthes with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasures.

This being done, he sent a herald to the king of Armenia, to

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ κράτῳ οὐδὲν ἐν ἱστορίῳ.* A fine expression, but not to be rendered into any other language with the same beauty.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557. Cyrop. l. ii. p. 58—61, and l. iii. p. 62—70.

summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time ordered his troops to advance. Never was a court in greater surprise and perplexity. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done, and was not in a condition to support it. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and in the mean time despatched his youngest son, called Stabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts that Cyrus was closely pursuing, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done to them if they staid in their houses, but that as many as were taken running away should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Crysantes had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence, where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midst of the army. At that very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a scene, he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus addressing himself to him, said, "Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your father." And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes, and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank, than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately, and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war upon Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country? It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. "For what reason, then," continued Cyrus, "have you violated the treaty in every article?" "For no other," replied the king, "than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my

children in the same condition." "It is really glorious," answered Cyrus, "to fight in defence of liberty; but if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?" "I must confess," says the king, "I would punish him." "And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to misbehave, would you continue him in his post?" "No, certainly: I would put another in his place." "And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?" "I would strip him of them." "But what is still worse, if he had held intelligences with your enemies, how would you treat him?" "Though I should pass sentence upon myself," replied the king, "I must declare the truth: I would put him to death." At these words, Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments: the women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: "Great prince, can you think it consistent with your wisdom, to put my father to death, even against your own interest?" "How against my interest?" replied Cyrus. "Because he was never so capable of doing you service." "How do you make that appear? Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour?" "They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For wisdom is of inestimable value: are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it? Now, it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him, in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs; but you have happily accomplished all yours; and with such expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded and taken, before he expected to be attacked, and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him." "But your father," replied Cyrus, "has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom." "The fear of evils," answered Tigranes, "when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger and more prevailing motive than any whatever: and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives, and children, all restored to him with such a generosity: where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service?"

"Well, then," replied Cyrus, turning to the king, "if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?" "My troops and treasures," says the Armenian king, "are no longer mine; they are entirely yours: I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to money, I reckon, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal." Cyrus ac-

cepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the Chaldeans,<sup>1</sup> with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes, he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted a hundred, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. "But what would you give me," added Cyrus, "for the ransom of your wives?" "All that I have in the world," replied the king. "And for the ransom of your children?" "The same thing." "From this time, then, you are indebted to me the double of all your possessions." "And you Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your lady?" Now he had but lately married her, and was passionately fond of her. "At the price," says he, "of a thousand lives, if I had them." Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. "Alas!" says Tigranes, "he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him." Cyrus pressing him to tell him, "My father," continued Tigranes, "seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, suspected it might be of some ill consequence, and put him to death. But he was so honest a man, that as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: "*Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudices, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.*"—"O the excellent man!" cried Cyrus, "never forget the last advice he gave you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all as in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. "And you," says Tigranes, addressing himself to his lady, "what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?"—"I do not know," replied the lady, "I did not observe him."—"Upon what object, then, did you fix your eyes?"—"Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty."

The next day, the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days' time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for several reasons, to give so circumstantial

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia Chaldeans. But Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739, style them so. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Armenia.

an account of this affair; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader an idea of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, whose natural and unaffected beauties are sufficient to justify the singular esteem which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance: what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time, what a wonderful simplicity and delicacy of thought, are there, in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her husband!

In the second place, those short, close, and pressing interrogations, each of which demanded a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and show in what manner he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this relation will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's *Cyropedia*; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down upon government. This much, therefore, in the event we are treating of, is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs were formed against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his quota of troops; and, after all, so won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the most faithful and affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian than to the history.

I should never myself have found out what the story of the governor's being put to death by the father of Tigranes signified, though I was very sensible it was a kind of enigma, and figurative of something else. <sup>1</sup>A person of quality, one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, explained it to me many years ago, which I have not forgotten, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, of whom the state of Athens became jealous on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this opportunity of manifesting such qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle people by their glaring outside: but an inward stock of goodness, compassion,

<sup>1</sup> M. le Comte de Tresvilles.

and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve, even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a constant and unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and, lastly, such a clemency, as to distinguish those that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty; these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but shone out most conspicuously in Cyrus.

To return to my subject. Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strongholds, marched against them. On first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And, indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, and to set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrus, understanding that there was frequent intercourse and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct his ambassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, that potentate should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied with some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. iii. p. 70—76.

who were directed by their master to act with the greatest dexterity, and to do all possible justice to the merit of Cyrus.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country, to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

SECTION IV.—THE EXPEDITION OF CYAXARES AND CYRUS AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS. THE FIRST BATTLE.

BOTH parties had been employed during three years in forming their alliance, and making preparations for war.<sup>1</sup> Cyrus, finding their troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against Assyria. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to relieve him, as soon as possible, from the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it was better they should eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians might be capable of spreading a terror among the enemy, and at the same time inspire their own army with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyses, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon, therefore, as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire, beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and, in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer; and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour; after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance and march up to them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country, and according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus, on the contrary, who wished to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army, covered his troops with several little hills and villages. For several days nothing

was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, *Jupiter, protector and conductor*.<sup>1</sup> He then caused the ordinary hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour, (*θεοσεβῆς*.) answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and a universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. "For it is observable," says the historian, "in this place, that on these occasions, those who fear the Deity most are the least afraid of men." On the side of the Assyrians, the troops, armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Croesus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to sustain so impetuous a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to the very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and Neriglossor, the king of the Babylonians, was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their intrenchments, sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians, in the meantime, having lost their king, and the flower of their army, were in a dreadful consternation.<sup>2</sup> As soon as Croesus found them in so great disorder, he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.<sup>3</sup>

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not to lose the fruits of victory by too much eagerness; moreover, that he did not wish to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now, but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

Cyrus marched away in pursuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greatest part of the Median soldiers. Upon the way he met some

<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the names of the gods of his own country.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. iv. p. 87, 104.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 160



couriers that were coming to him from the Hyrcanians,<sup>1</sup> who served in the enemy's army, to assure him that as soon as he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him ; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time ; and, having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Croesus had sent away his wives in the night-time, for coolness, for it was the summer season, and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and consternation. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed ; all that stayed in the camp, surrendered ; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses they took in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares ; and for the prisoners he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war ; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them in a condition for cultivating their lands with entire security.

While the Medes and Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them, that, at their return, they might have nothing to do but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments and the division of the spoil ; and that they would show a preference of their interests and conveniences before their own ; giving them to understand that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing a new harvest of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample compensation for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all acceded to his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them to send nothing but bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided, he said, with all they wanted, either for their ragouts, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragout, and water from the river their only drink ; for that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the division of the spoils. Cyrus, in the first place, ordered the magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty which was most proper to be offered to the

<sup>1</sup> These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian sea. From observing the encampments of Cyrus in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days journey south of Babylon.

gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained among the whole army. They earnestly desired that the Persians might preside in the distribution, but the Persians absolutely refused; so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy, Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning, when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he despatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonableness did not dismay Cyrus, who, in return, wrote him a respectful letter, in which, however, he expressed himself with a generous and noble freedom, justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time, Cyrus sent into Persia for a reinforcement of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.<sup>1</sup>

Among the prisoners of war they had taken, there was a young princess, of most exquisite beauty, whom they reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear, as he said, such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view.<sup>2</sup> This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Persians never to speak before young people of anything that tended or related to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition: "I have seen a great many persons," says he, "who have thought themselves very strong, wretchedly overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution, who have afterwards owned, with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery, from which they had not the power to redeem themselves; an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of bond or necessity, more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron."<sup>3</sup> "Fear nothing," replied Araspes, "I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life, I shall do nothing contrary to my duty." Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence with her. The princess at

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. iv. p. 104—108.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. v. p. 114, 117, et l. vi. p. 153, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Δεικνους ίαχυροτέρα τινι άνδρα, η ε σιδερα ίσθιότερο.

length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, had not a word to say for himself. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince, fearful and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him; acknowledging that he himself was to blame for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness, the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. "Alas!" says he, "now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly that I have two souls; one that inclines me to good, another that excites me to evil. The former prevails when you speak to me, and come to my relief: when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to, and am overpowered by the latter." Araspes made advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.<sup>1</sup>

The loss of so brave an officer, who, through discontent, was supposed to have gone over to the enemy, greatly affected the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit, meaning her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handsomely she had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how," cried out Abradates, "shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?" "By behaving towards him," replied Panthea, "as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his respects to so great a benefactor, "you see before you," said he, "the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the most faithful ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service." Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, accompanied with so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that great prince, was greatly short of the truth.<sup>2</sup>

Two Assyrian noblemen, likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The late king of Assyria, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to his son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman,

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. i. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 155, 156.

at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed. The latter, who was of a passionate and savage temper, immediately struck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother.<sup>1</sup> This young king was called Laborosoarchod; he reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonid, called also Labynit and Balthasar, who reigned seventeen years.<sup>2</sup>

The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadates. He was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne, because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.<sup>3</sup>

The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determined to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not intending to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out, however, with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus to his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and gold cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country; then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed greatly to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and silver," says Cyrus, "and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but among the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be their own riches nor yours, which they will set their esteem upon. I can assure you, there are many among them who would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he steadfastly refused, and

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. iv. p. 111, 113.<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. v. p. 123, 124

returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was the only bed or couch they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment corresponded. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit: as above all things he admired the ingenuous vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this, there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the Saccæ<sup>2</sup> and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whose intelligence with the Persians was as yet kept secret, by Cyrus's advice, offered himself to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. He was accordingly admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of the citadel made him master of the Saccæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the Saccæ furnished ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse-archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadates for this rebellion; but Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After this exploit, the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving to all of them liberty to return home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then, advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a personal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat; but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.<sup>3</sup>

When he came to the frontiers, he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country, an army that was about to receive a farther augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. v. p. 119, 123.

<sup>2</sup> Not the Saccæ of Scythia.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. v. p. 124—144.

next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus, who likewise advanced to meet him with his cavalry, which were very fine and numerous. The sight of those troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a conversation with his uncle, for explaining himself with the more freedom. He spoke to him with so much moderation, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced each other, and tears were shed on both sides. How great was the joy of the Persians and Medes, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses, and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of the other nations their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by the direction of Cyrus. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Croesus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day, in the presence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.<sup>2</sup>

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the years wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose, with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this conjecture, that between the two battles against Croesus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides, for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

Cyrus, then, about this time, had thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after his departure, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion.<sup>3</sup> Cyrus had a

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. v. p. 141—147.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 148—151.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable that either of them should wait till that age before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Besides, at any rate, Cambyses would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do, but I follow the chronology of Archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the Cyropædia, l. viii. p. 228, that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirty years old.

grateful sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept it, till he had the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence, which all children ought to show to their parents on the like occasions, of whatever age they may be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.<sup>1</sup>

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies, for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

Foreseeing, says Xenophon, that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a convenient and healthy place, and fortified it very strongly. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise as if the enemy had been always in sight.<sup>2</sup>

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey, only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost respect, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves in it with great ability.<sup>3</sup>

I do not recognise, in this last circumstance, the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant that it was an open violation of the law of nations to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of ambassadors; which is a character that will not

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 228, 229.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. p. 156, 157.

suffer those involved with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery?

Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great objects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation among his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, throw a dart or shoot an arrow the most dexterously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them with him in hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and showed them all possible favour. When he made any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited a universal ardour throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who, in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his meals, conversations, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time, the Indian ambassadors, having returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Crœsus was chosen generalissimo of their army, that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great succour was marching, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Crœsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbria, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by all the accounts brought in, both by the prisoners and the spies.<sup>3</sup>

Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news. But that prince, having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears, and revived their courage.<sup>2</sup>

Cyrus had taken proper measures for providing his army with all necessaries, and had given orders, as well for their march as for the battle he was preparing to fight; in doing which, he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the same manner, as it frequently hap-

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 159.



pens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of a single wheel, however small.<sup>1</sup>

This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making use of a common, but significant comparison, he used to say, "He thought it strange that an artificer should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, who are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations." Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe they are both known and esteemed by their general.<sup>2</sup>

When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.<sup>3</sup>

Cyrus, who understood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians' coming to attack him in Media, but marched forward to meet them in their territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition, and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march, he came up with the enemy at Thymbria, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

#### SECTION V. THE BATTLE OF THYMBRIA, BETWEEN CYRUS AND CRÆSUS.

THIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided upon the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. It was this consideration that induced M. Freret, one of my brethren in the Academy of Polite Literature, to examine it with particular care and exactness; and the rather, as he observes, because it is the first pitched battle of which we have any full or particular account.<sup>4</sup> I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, or denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I might judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action; moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war, and fought battles, is an essential part of their history.

In Cyrus's army, the companies of foot consisted of a hundred men

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. p. 158—163.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. v. p. 131, 132.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 160, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

each, exclusive of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four parts or platoons, which consisted of four-and-twenty men each, not including the person who commanded. These subdivisions were again divided into two files, consisting of twelve men each. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, corresponding with the present rank of colonel; and ten of these bodies were under another superior commander, whom we may call a brigadier.<sup>1</sup>

I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came, at the head of the thirty thousand Persians, to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them, till then, only made use of javelins, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes, and left few of his soldiers in light armour.<sup>2</sup>

The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great disadvantage he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by degrees formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.<sup>3</sup>

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon; that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers, which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted, in the whole, to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand native Persians, viz.: ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pikemen, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and one hundred thousand foot of the same nation.

Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were shot-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.<sup>4</sup>

He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size, on each of which was placed a tower of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked abreast.<sup>5</sup>

There was, moreover, a considerable number of camels, upon each

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. iv. p. 99, 100, et l. v. p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 152, 153, 157.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrop. p. 157.

of which were two Arabian archers, back to back, so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.<sup>1</sup>

The army of Croesus was more than twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, sixty thousand of which were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of one hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short but very broad swords. The rest of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cicilians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.<sup>2</sup>

Croesus had arranged his army in order of battle in one line, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have noticed, were one hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of his infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, having one hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or space between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Croesus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an extensive plain, which gave room for extending their wings to right and left; and the design of Croesus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, being thus drawn out in one line, took up nearly forty stadia, or five miles in length.<sup>3</sup>

Araspes, who, under the pretence of discontent, had retired to Croesus's army, and had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth. But Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partizans, battle-axes, and swords; and, provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe that the Lydian phalanx, armed with only light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus, therefore, thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysanthes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army occupied but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and conse-

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. p. 153, 158.<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. p. 158.<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. p. 166.

quantly was at each flank nearly four stadia, or half a mile, short of the enemy's front.<sup>1</sup>

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spearmen, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by the soldiers in their front, over whose heads they could throw their javelins, and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their duty was, to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill as traitors those that fled; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and served not only to annoy the enemy by the constant discharges of the archers that were in them, but also as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all, two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.<sup>2</sup>

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c., was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of one hundred each. One of the bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana,<sup>3</sup> was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and stationed the day before the engagement.

The next day, very early in the morning, Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was there a more beautiful and magnificent sight; coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most; men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.<sup>4</sup>

When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass, which was only of quilted linen, according to the fashion of his country, his wife Panthea came and presented him with a helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got

<sup>1</sup> *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 167.<sup>2</sup> *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 168<sup>3</sup> Or Sushan.<sup>4</sup> *Cyrop.* p. 166.

all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be the more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she shed some tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations," says she, "to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was set apart for his pleasure; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife, and in return I assured him you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness." "O Jupiter!" cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, "grant that on this occasion I may approve myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor." Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiss the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage which is due to the gods, every man went to his post.<sup>2</sup> Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals; he eat a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed among those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise, and poured out a part of it as an offering to the gods before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.<sup>3</sup>

As he was considering on which side he would direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, "Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee."<sup>4</sup> And that instant he set forwards, having Chrysanthes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to take care of the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle on the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out. The same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He ordered his army to halt three times before they reached the enemy; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemy had observed how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, while the two wings advanced, projecting to the right and left, with the design to enclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, "Jupiter, leader

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. p. 169, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. vi. p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 172.

He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

and protector," he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers; and he who, on all other occasions, was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory; "Follow me, comrades," said he; "the victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the motion which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "These troops alarm you," says he; "believe me, these are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." The event happened exactly as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary everywhere, he returned to the right wing of his army.<sup>1</sup>

When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Croesus gave the signal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, while the two wings that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side: so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.<sup>2</sup>

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank; and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do, put them in great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment, the troops on the left flank knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as they were sensible of the approach of those animals, for horses cannot endure the smell of camels, began to snort and prance, to run upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. While they were in this confusion, a small body of horse commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying: and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful slaughter.

This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 173—176.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. p. 176.

and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, who being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order, that the chariots had not room to pierce among them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut everything in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forward in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the moving towers; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrus, in the meantime, having put both the horse and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuse himself in pursuing the fugitives, but, pushing on directly to the centre, had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and, rightly judging that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining farther ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon the rear; the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, ran headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length, Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions if they would surrender, letting them know at the same time that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no less eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they stipulated that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Croesus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.<sup>2</sup>

Xenophon observes that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cuma, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon, as also many others in several parts of his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances,

<sup>1</sup> *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 178.

shows plainly that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection on the passage in Xenophon belongs to Mons. Freret.<sup>1</sup>

The battle lasted till evening. Crœsus retreated as fast as he could with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.<sup>2</sup>

In describing this battle, I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some military men, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus disposed of his troops in order of battle, as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Crœsus had detached to fall upon the flanks of his army. It is possible such a circumstance might escape Xenophon in describing this battle.

It is allowed that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been entirely ignorant. The chariots, armed with scythes, did good service, and the use of them was ever afterwards retained among the Persians. The camels, too, were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes that in his time they made no other use of them than for carrying the baggage.<sup>3</sup>

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with everything necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour: in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders, as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall see, by and by, what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added

<sup>1</sup> *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyrop.* p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Cyrop.* p. 180.



nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military person, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession, to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if, on a day of battle, he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than a respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Croesus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes in regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

But let us return to the camp of the Persians. It is easy to imagine that Panthea must have been in the utmost affliction and distress when the news was brought to her of the death of Abradates. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief, and indulging her misery, with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shown to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION VI. THE TAKING OF SARDIS AND OF CRÆSUS.

THE next day, in the morning, Cyrus marched towards Sardis.<sup>2</sup> If we may believe Herodotus, Croesus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But while he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 184—186.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. i. s. 79—84.

by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day, he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already began to disperse themselves.

To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them, as it were, by a single command, in a city abounding with riches as Sardis did, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Croesus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.<sup>1</sup>

When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city, he had a particular conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard? Croesus first acknowledged that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shown a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him, for that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead a happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied, in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness, when he once came to the knowledge of himself. "For want of this knowledge," continued he, "and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am about to commence being happy; and if you prove favourable to me, for my fate is in your hands, I shall certainly be so." Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him, as Croesus acknowledged himself, from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead a happy life, exempted from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.<sup>2</sup>

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it in-

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 181—184.

cumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

I have already observed that the only son Crœsus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scimitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the strings of his tongue, and cried out, "Soldier, spare the life of Crœsus."<sup>1</sup>

Crœsus being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly, the funeral-pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the conversation he had formerly had with Solon,<sup>2</sup> was wofully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried out aloud three times, "Solon, Solon, Solon!" Cyrus, who, with the chief officers of his court, was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Crœsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect.<sup>3</sup> Thus had Solon the glory, with a single word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.<sup>4</sup>

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Crœsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he, Crœsus, was to believe himself in danger when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them; the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second, he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found that things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he despatched messengers to Delphos, in order to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding all the vast presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crœsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answer to those

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 85.

<sup>2</sup> This conversation is already related in this volume, p. 383, 384.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. c. 86—91. Plat. in Solon.

<sup>4</sup> Καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ Σόλων ἀπὸ λόγου τὸν μὲν σωσας, τὸν δὲ παιδεύσας τὸν Βασιλέω. Plat.

that  
the  
} what it would, they contained a relative meaning.  
} the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised of Cyrus's  
} subdued the Lydians, they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis,  
} he would receive them as his subjects upon the same condi-  
} had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who, before his victory,  
} solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a  
} position to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable  
} of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make  
} fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them  
} by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of suc-  
} ceeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded  
} their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus,  
} to let him know that they would not suffer him to undertake anything  
} against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and  
} warned them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condi-  
} tion to defend their own territories.<sup>1</sup>

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, nor had the Persians any shipping.

## ARTICLE II.

### THE HISTORY OF THE BESIEGING AND TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS.

CYRUS stayed in Asia Minor till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection, from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subdued. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the East that stood out against him.<sup>2</sup>

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But, despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made the inhabitants believe he designed to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

### SECTION I. — PREDICTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, AS THEY ARE SET DOWN IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 141, 152, 153.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186—188.

were foretold in the holy Scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find in the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

#### I. THE PREDICTION OF THE JEWISH CAPTIVITY AT BABYLON, AND THE TIME OF ITS DURATION.

GOD Almighty was pleased, not only to cause the captivity which his people were to suffer at Babylon to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." Jer. xxv. 11

#### II. THE CAUSES OF GOD'S WRATH AGAINST BABYLON.

WHAT kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. *Her pride.* She believed herself to be invincible. She says in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. *Her cruelty.* It is God himself that complains of it. I was willing, says he, to punish my people in such a manner as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her princes have converted my paternal chastisement into such a cruel and inhuman treatment as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy: mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shown no compassion or regard either to age, or infirmity, or virtue.

3. *The sacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors, Belshazzar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himself likewise to have vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant to affront him, he affected to apply these holy vessels to profane uses. This was the provoking circumstance that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

### III. THE DECREE PRONOUNCED AGAINST BABYLON, PREDICTION OF THE CALAMITIES THAT WERE TO FALL UPON HER, AND OF HER UTTER DESTRUCTION.

“MAKE bright the arrows, gather the shields;” it is the prophet that speaks to the Medes and Persians. “The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.”<sup>1</sup>

“Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate.<sup>2</sup>—Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria.”<sup>3</sup>

“Shout against her round about. Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her; and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host.<sup>4</sup>—Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it.<sup>5</sup> Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children.<sup>6</sup> O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh thy children, and dasheth them against the stones.”<sup>7</sup>

“And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldee’s excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in, from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.<sup>8</sup> I shall also make it a possession of the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.”<sup>9</sup>

### IV. CYRUS CALLED TO DESTROY BABYLON, AND TO DELIVER THE JEWS.

CYRUS, whom Divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing of his design of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the Scripture by his name above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the prodigious rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himself would

<sup>1</sup> Jer. li. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xlii. 6, 9.

<sup>3</sup> In the destruction of Nineveh. Jer. l. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. l. 15, 29, and li. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. xli. 15, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xli. 15, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. xlii. 19, 22.

<sup>9</sup> Isa. xlv. 23, 24.

be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel; for Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.<sup>1</sup>

V. GOD GIVES THE SIGNAL TO THE COMMANDERS, AND TO THE TROOPS, TO MARCH AGAINST BABYLON.

"LIFT ye up a banner," saith the Lord, "upon the high mountain," that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. "Exalt the voice unto them" that are able to hear you. "Shake the hand," and make a sign to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops "go into the gates of the nobles," into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go into his tent, which is already set up.<sup>2</sup>

"I have commanded my sanctified ones;"<sup>3</sup> I have given my orders to those whom I sanctified for the execution of my designs: and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made several nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministration. "I have called my mighty ones for mine anger."<sup>4</sup> I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: everything gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, "they rejoice in my highness." The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: behold, they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the rapidity with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, "the noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of battle:"<sup>5</sup> They come from a far country, from the end of heaven,"<sup>6</sup> where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has reached their ears.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xlv. 1.—4.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xlii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xlii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. *voz. in ira mea.* Heb. *in iram meam.*

<sup>5</sup> Isa. xlii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xlii. 6.

But it is not with the sight of the formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. "It is even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land."

"A grievous vision is declared unto me." The impious Belshazzar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously;<sup>1</sup> "the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth."<sup>2</sup> "To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia: Go up, O Elam:" and thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: "Besiege, O Media; all the sighing which she was the cause of, have I made to cease." The wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

#### VI. PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES SET DOWN, RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

THERE is nothing, perhaps, that can be more proper to raise a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that she did not at all expect: "Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth."<sup>3</sup> She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she did not foresee: "Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know."<sup>4</sup> In a word, she shall be taken, as it were, in a net or a gin, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware."<sup>5</sup>

3. Babylon was confident that the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated, and defended by so deep a river: "O thou that dwellest upon many waters."<sup>6</sup> It is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem, of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been anything like it since, shall divert the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up."<sup>7</sup> Cyrus shall take possession of the keys of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire; "the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire."<sup>8</sup>

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feasting and

<sup>1</sup> This is the sense of the Hebrew word.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xxi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xlvii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. l. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Jer. li. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Jer. l. 38, li. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Jer. li. 32.



rejoicing, even while her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: "In her heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord."<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon: "I have laid a snare for thee:"<sup>2</sup> who drieth up the waters of the river; "I will dry up her sea;" and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes; "I will make drunk her princes."<sup>3</sup>

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with incredible terror and perturbation of mind: "My loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold on me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth; I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it; my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me; the night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me."<sup>4</sup> This is the condition Belshazzar was in, when, in the middle of the entertainment, he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him that those characters imported the sentence of his death: "Then," says the Scripture, "the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another."<sup>5</sup> The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Belshazzar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination to be able to add, immediately after the description of Belshazzar's consternation, the following words: "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."<sup>6</sup> The prophet foresees that Belshazzar, though terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirit again, through the exhortation of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears and unnecessary alarms: "Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed."<sup>7</sup> They exhorted him, therefore, to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of everything by the vigilance of the sentinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recall that gayety and joy which his excessive fears had banished from the table; "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his: "Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield."<sup>8</sup> It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, and buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the

<sup>1</sup> Jer. li. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. v. 6

<sup>3</sup> Jer. li. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xxi. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. li. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Dan. v. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xxi. 3, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. xxi. 14.

troops with which it is filled shall not keep their ground or stand firm anywhere, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of anything but making their escape; that, in running away, they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered when they are affrighted: "And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up."<sup>1</sup> The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: "They shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land."<sup>2</sup>

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shown either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the last circumstances which the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in the Scripture, after a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. "But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people."<sup>3</sup> That king is justly forgot who has never remembered that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place among them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and since he had no humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence which God himself pronounceth against Belshazzar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers but the pleasing prospect and ideas of their future grandeur. "Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise, nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord."<sup>4</sup>

#### SECTION II.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

AFTER having seen the predictions of everything that was to happen to impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the completion and accomplishment of those prophecies; and in order thereto, we must resume the thread of our history, with respect to the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xlii. 14

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xlii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xiv. 19, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xiv. 21, 22.

upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed that in the city, on a certain day, a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

Belshazzar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine, he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, in the very action, made him sensible who it was that he offended, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised and affrighted at this vision, immediately sent for all the wise men, his diviners, and astrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the characters.<sup>1</sup> It is probably in relation to this occurrence that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that she should be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee." Isa. xvlii. 12, 13. The queen-mother, Nitocris, a princess of great merit, coming, upon the noise of this prodigy, into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.<sup>2</sup>

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather, Nebuchadnezzar, and the crying abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure.<sup>3</sup> "And thou, his son," says he to the king, "hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee; and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor

<sup>1</sup> The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. v. 1—29.

<sup>3</sup> "Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down." Dan. v. 19.

know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, *'MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.'*<sup>1</sup> This is the interpretation of the thing: *MENE*, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it; *TEKEL*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; *PERES*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." This interpretation, one would think, should have enhanced the king's trouble; but some way or other, they found means to dispel his fears, and make him easy; probably upon the persuasion that the calamity was not denoanced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This, however, is certain, that, for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

Cyrus, in the meantime, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out, and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the conduct of the gods; in the evening, he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides of the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obstacle. The invisible Guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night subservient to his design, by leaving open the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xeno-

<sup>1</sup> These three words signify number, weight, division.

<sup>2</sup> Or Persia.

phon's, and are very remarkable, as they so perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of the impious Belshazzar.<sup>1</sup>

The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nabonassar's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the Scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points, the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is, the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or footsteps should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION III. — THE COMPLETION OF THE PROPHECY WHICH FORETOLD THE TOTAL RUIN AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON.

THIS prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the 13th chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verse, and in the 28d and 24th verses of the 14th chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 427, &c. It is there declared that Babylon should be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that neither herdsman nor shepherd shall come thither even to rest his herd or his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, or fen, so that no mark or footstep shall be left to show where Babylon had been. It was God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion, to show how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

1. In the *first* place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Shusan, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place, and did themselves destroy a great part of Babylon.

2. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embellishments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built Seleucia<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 189—192.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 533.

<sup>3</sup> Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit, et Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadiis tantum trecentis a Babylone dissitam.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

In solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleucis, ob id conditæ a Nicatore intra nonagessimum (or, quadragesimum) lapidem.—Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted.<sup>1</sup> Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold, "It shall not be inhabited." Its own masters endeavour to depopulate it.

3. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building Ctesiphon,<sup>2</sup> which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that, from the time the anathema was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; as if they had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, though by indirect means, and without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

4. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was she reduced at the time when Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece.<sup>3</sup> *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.* Paus. in Arcad. p. 509.<sup>4</sup>

5. The kings of Persia, finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, it was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces."<sup>5</sup>

St. Jerome has transmitted to us the following valuable remark, which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he related to him: *Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exegit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.*—In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.<sup>6</sup>

6. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length, they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which served for pleasure to the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way; so that, in Theodoret's time, there was but a very little stream of water left, which ran across the ruins, and, not meeting with a descent or free passage, necessarily expanded into a marsh.<sup>7</sup>

In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had left its ordinary

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Pro illa. Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt.—S. Hieron. in cap. xiii. Isa.

<sup>3</sup> He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian.

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. 400

<sup>7</sup> Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam medium dividebat; nunc autem fluvius conversus est in aliam viam, et per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fuit.—Theod. in cap. I Jerom. 38 et 39

channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these outlets, being ill stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work.<sup>1</sup> But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who declared he would destroy even to the very remains and traces of Babylon, "I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant,"<sup>2</sup> defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold, "I will make it pools of water."<sup>3</sup> And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

7. By means of all these changes, Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the ablest geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood.<sup>4</sup> In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled; "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts."<sup>5</sup> I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every trace of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. "I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts."

8. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand."<sup>6</sup> But if we should take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes who reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The Scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand."

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon, is almost

<sup>1</sup> Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xvi. 22.

Isa. xvi. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Nunc omnium destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera —Baudran.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xiv. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xiv. 24.

entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still<sup>6</sup> in manuscript.

SECTION IV. — WHAT FOLLOWED UPON THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

CYRUS having entered the city after the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison, which kept the citadel, being surprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.<sup>1</sup>

The first thing he did was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired, was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behooved them to keep up among the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and, for that end, to take particular care to give their children education. This, says he, will necessarily engage us daily to make farther advances in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples; nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see anything among us but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.<sup>2</sup>

Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers, and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 197—200



tion, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not stand idle in the midst of all this motion, but was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which, by this means, he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.<sup>1</sup>

When he afterwards sent governors, called *satraps*, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to depend upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; that if any of the *satraps*, elated with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting any one man with an absolute power, knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, that all others are thereby abased and kept under.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of everything that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He preferred clemency far before martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful.<sup>3</sup> He was sensible that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners; but, in his opinion, the prince, by his example, was to be a living law to his people;<sup>4</sup> nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed;<sup>5</sup> he was also persuaded that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or say anything before them contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.<sup>6</sup>

He looked upon liberality as a virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was anything great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others.<sup>7</sup> "I have prodigious riches," says he to his courtiers, "I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, if I desired it. No; the chief end I aim at is, to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."<sup>8</sup>

Croesus one day represented to him that, by continual giving, he would at last make himself poor; whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. "And to what sum," replied Cyrus, "do you think those treasures might

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrop. p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> Cyrop. p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> Cyrop. p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> Cyrop. p. 224.

have amounted?" Croesus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a short note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Croesus had mentioned. "Look here," says Cyrus to him, "here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affections of my subjects."<sup>1</sup>

But as much as he esteemed liberality, he still laid a greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this, therefore, he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of magi, to sing daily a morning-service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised among them in succeeding ages.<sup>2</sup>

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible that it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments of religion, being convinced that whoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

Cyrus being resolved to settle his chief residence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined, therefore, to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but those persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all sorts of reasons to an entire attachment to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was that they were of any

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. p. 210.<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. p. 204.

consideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his household with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from henceforth it became the general custom of all the eastern countries.<sup>1</sup>

It is well known that in after times this usage prevailed also among the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning, all powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to intrust them also with the management of affairs, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy, having got possession of their masters' minds and confidence, they came to be in great credit at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive, themselves, at the highest offices and dignities of the state.

But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus, held the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons, whose only view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to keep all persons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as possible from his knowledge, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*<sup>2</sup>

When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he resolved to show himself publicly to his people, and to his new-conquered subjects, in a solemn, august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that this prince ever aimed at procuring a respect to himself, not only by the attractions of virtue, says the historian, but by such an external pomp as was proper to attract the multitude, and work like a charm or enchantment upon their imaginations.<sup>3</sup> He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a suit of clothes of the Median fashion, that is to say, long garments which hung down to the feet. These clothes were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers.<sup>4</sup> It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes, and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄλλα καὶ καταγεγραμένον ἔστο χροῖαι εὐρέε.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 213, 220.

<sup>4</sup> Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrop. p. 206

When the time appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it, ranged in the same order. All the cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the magi. Next followed the horses that were to be sacrificed to the Sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself made his appearance upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat the master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the stature of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him: whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march; the other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them were led two hundred horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four abreast, brought up the rear, and closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first, bulls were burnt, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth, according to the

appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of Syria.<sup>1</sup>

In order to recreate the people after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out about the distance of five stadia,<sup>2</sup> and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately, and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete a horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards among the Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well strangers as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen anything of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast, he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude; and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms, he did not think it descending from his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.<sup>3</sup>

### ARTICLE III.

#### THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM THE TAKING OF BABYLON TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

CYRUS, finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life, to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

SECTION I. — CYRUS TAKES A JOURNEY INTO PERSIA. AT HIS RETURN FROM THENCE TO BABYLON, HE FORMS A PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE. DANIEL'S CREDIT AND POWER.

WHEN Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia.<sup>4</sup> In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him, at the same

<sup>1</sup> Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Assyria.

<sup>2</sup> A little more than half a mile.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 220—224.

<sup>4</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 227.

time, that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, ready prepared for him, whenever he should please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in copartnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. This is the Cyaxares who is called in Scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find that, under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations.<sup>1</sup> It appears that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, was accompanied by Cyaxares to Babylon.

When they arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into a hundred and twenty provinces.<sup>2</sup> And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the couriers, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible despatch.<sup>3</sup> The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and rendered him the greatest service in the war.<sup>4</sup> Over these governors were appointed three superintendents, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account, from time to time, of everything that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the great affairs of the whole empire. Of these three, Daniel was made chief.<sup>5</sup> He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had appeared in a distinguished manner at Belshazzar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age and consummate experience. For at that time it was fully sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodonosor, since he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

As this distinction had made him the second person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it was on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask anything whatever for the space of thirty days, either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.<sup>6</sup>

Towards the end of the same year, which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing, by the computation he made, that

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Cyrop. p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. vi. 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cyrop. vi. p. 4—27.

the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he prayed earnestly to God that he would remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him, in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to elapse from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years; for, taking each day for a year, according to the language sometimes used in holy Scripture, those seventy weeks of years make up exactly four hundred and ninety years.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with as many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries, as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia.<sup>2</sup>

It was probably in this interval of time that Daniel was cast into the den of lions and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which, for their fineness and beauty, were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the East.

#### SECTION II. — THE BEGINNING OF THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES. THE FAMOUS EDICT OF CYRUS. DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

HERE, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes, united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomanus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the first three kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

CYRUS.<sup>3</sup> Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the new empire.

The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from

<sup>1</sup> Dan. ix. 1—27.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536

the time when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.<sup>1</sup>

In the first of these seven years precisely, expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him his request, he showed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and, at the same time, to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper, in this place, to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and success.

“Now, in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, (that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled,) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (he is the *true* God) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, besides the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem.”<sup>3</sup>

Cyrus at the same time restored to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nebuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after, the Jews departed under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and secret dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, to obstruct the execution of it, so that for several years the building went on very slowly.<sup>4</sup>

It seems to have been out of grief to see the execution of this decree so long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together.<sup>5</sup> He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concern

<sup>1</sup> Cic. l. i. de Div. n. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra iv. 1—5.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xlv. and xlv.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3470. Ant. J. C. 534. Dan. x. 1—5

<sup>5</sup> Ezra ii. 1—7



ing the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after; and, indeed, his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for, at this time, he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of something more than human wisdom, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much esteemed by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.<sup>1</sup>

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Josephus speaks of a famous edifice built by him at Susa,<sup>2</sup> in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but lately built.<sup>3</sup> Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that city,<sup>4</sup> and there they show his monument even to this day. It is certain that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us that "he did the king's business there;"<sup>5</sup> that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

#### REFLECTIONS ON DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

I HAVE hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years, restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known, the thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction; the king himself relates it in a declaration, addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as a thing sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of so important a matter, and so injurious to the king, and of which the falsehood must have been notorious to all the world?<sup>6</sup>

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one

<sup>1</sup> "But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." Dan. xii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerome, who relates the same fact; Com. in Dan viii. 2, and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

<sup>3</sup> Anuq. i. x. cap. 12

<sup>4</sup> New called Tuster.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. viii. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Dan. iv.

and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which signify the succession of four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject-matter of this work, which is only the history of those very empires.

The first of these prophecies was occasioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beat as small as dust, by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude.<sup>1</sup> This dream I have already spoken of at large.<sup>2</sup>

About fifty years after, the same Daniel saw another vision, very like that which I have just been speaking of:<sup>3</sup> this was the vision of the four large beasts, which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings: the second was like a bear: the third was like a leopard, which had four heads: the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. From the midst of the ten horns which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the others: the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed that these two visions, the one of the image composed of different metals, the other of the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and of the Romans.<sup>4</sup> This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined everything by his own decrees, and who, by a supernatural revelation, imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases?<sup>5</sup>

In the following chapter, this prophet still speaks with greater clearness and precision.<sup>6</sup> For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus

<sup>1</sup> Dan. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Page 366 of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> This was the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon. Dan. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, put the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

<sup>5</sup> "He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings; he revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him." Dan. ii. 21, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Dan. viii.

expounds his meaning in the plainest manner. The ram which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that "he touched not the ground?" How did he learn that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered, and divided into four principal kingdoms, and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north?

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign, foretell<sup>2</sup> that the fourth of Cyrus's successors<sup>3</sup> should gather together his forces, to attack the Grecian states? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus should bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein, and the vengeance which God would inflict upon him for it? How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire, foretell the wars which Alexander's successors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties and their marriage alliances, which could only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?<sup>4</sup>

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel: for they are so clear and express, that Porphyry, a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them than by pretending that they were written after the events, and rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.<sup>5</sup>

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put be-

<sup>1</sup> "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled." Dan. xi. 3, 4. "Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."—Dan. viii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings of Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."—Dan. xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Xerxes.

<sup>4</sup> Dan. xi. 4—45.

<sup>5</sup> S. Hieron. in Proem. ad Com. in Dan.

tween the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former, everything appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror everywhere, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear to pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires as of their founders or governors!

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been its striking characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The end of his reign is the salvation of mankind; it is to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who are all of them so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only that the whole world doth subsist: and when the number of them shall be complete, "then," says St. Paul, "cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power."<sup>1</sup>

Can a writer, who sees, in the prophecies of Daniel, that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted the time determined for them by the sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ;—Can a writer, I say, amid all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others?

### SECTION III.—THE LAST YEARS OF CYRUS. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine Seas, on the west by the Ægean Sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the Sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.<sup>2</sup>

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned

<sup>1</sup> Cor. xv. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 243. &c.

into Persia, which was the seventh time from his accession to the whole monarchy, which shows that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyses had now been dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had passed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of his sober and temperate life.<sup>1</sup> And as they who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery often feel all the infirmities of age, even while they are young, Cyrus, on the contrary, at a very advanced age, enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them that the main strength and support of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches, but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you, therefore," said he, "my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you would retain any desire to please me for the future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer anything, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant; you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons; I could never imagine that the soul only lived while in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, anything contrary to religion and justice. Next to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon this great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. For my body, my sons, when life has forsaken it, enclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated, with the benefactress and common mother of mankind?" After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death,

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus, quidem, apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam senisæ senectutem suam imbecilliorē factam, quam adolescentiā fuisset.—Cic. de Sen. n. 30.

he added these last words: "Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace!" After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.<sup>1</sup>

The order given by Cyrus to restore his body to the earth, is very remarkable. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if enclosed in gold or silver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says he. Where did that prince learn that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

#### CHARACTER AND EULOGY OF CYRUS.

CYRUS may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince, to be found in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of every branch of the military art as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing, the greatest designs.

It is very common for those heroes who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean actions they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and even odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reason, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of everything but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others; for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing affects us more, than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.<sup>1</sup>

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command, to tell him whatever they thought.<sup>2</sup> And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook anything without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform anything in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus, who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: *Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferit, inimicus.*<sup>3</sup>

Cicero observes, that, during the whole time of Cyrus's government, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.*<sup>4</sup> What a high encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have had a very great command of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his steadfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and to secure the public welfare and tranquillity.<sup>5</sup> He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd,<sup>6</sup> the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good

<sup>1</sup> Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es.—Paneg. Trajan.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. l. iii. de Leg. p. 694.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. l. i. c. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. l. i. Epist. 21, ad Q. Fratrem.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrop. l. i. p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> "Thou shalt feed my people," said God to David, 2 Sam. v. 2. Ποιμὴν λαοῦ, says Homer in many places.

kings, and that he ought to exercise the same vigilance, care, and goodness. "It is his duty," says he, "to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to charge himself with anxieties, and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," says he, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

Indeed, to be the guardian of the commonwealth, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is, not to be for themselves; the very characteristic of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as a light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on everything below. Are such sentiments as these any disparagement to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus founded such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for many years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not, indeed, to be surprised that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue, (it will be readily understood that I speak only of pagan virtues,) because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, nor that he immediately made him such as we admire in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all, he took care that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding of him, in some sort, with his subjects, and the keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen



him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate; an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that Heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation, that all good kings are the gift of God, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who rules with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance to that of Cyrus. *Nullum est præstabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam costus, et sanctus, et Deo simillimus princeps.*<sup>1</sup>

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, there seems to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly; I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden reverse of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.*<sup>2</sup> And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear the burden; whereas prosperity, attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miseræ tolerantur, felicitate corumpimur.*

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; as a greatness of mind, independent of everything without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients, improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against everything; and lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to support itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory.<sup>3</sup> He himself informs us that, during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident: and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us, at the same time, with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never

<sup>1</sup> Paneg. Trag.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Hist. l. i. c. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234

be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen: and this prudent fear was not only a preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.<sup>1</sup>

There remains one point more to be examined, with regard to this prince's reputation and character; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind,<sup>2</sup> who acknowledged no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions than their incapacity of carrying them any farther; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction like fires and torrents; and who reigned as bears and lions would if they were masters.<sup>3</sup>

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes whom the world admires; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impressions made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many, deceived by his false images of greatness.

I do not know whether I am biassed in favour of Cyrus, but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings; but he certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, which render him who wantonly provokes them accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now, every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

Cyrus, as we have seen, at the beginning of the war, founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Cræsus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of Lesser

<sup>1</sup> Οὐκ ἄρα μὴν φορεῖν, ἢ δ' ἀφραγίσθαι ἐκπετραμένους.

<sup>2</sup> Id in summa fortuna sequitur quod validius. Et sua retinere, private domus: de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse.—Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Quæ alia vita esset, si leones ursique regnarent?—Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 26.

Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.<sup>1</sup>

With good reason, therefore, is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unless justice had been the basis and foundation of it: *Cyrus a Xenophontis scriptus ad justitiam imperii.*<sup>2</sup>

SECTION IV. — WHEREIN HERODOTUS AND XENOPHON DIFFER IN THEIR ACCOUNTS OF CYRUS.

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the substance and most essential part of the history of Cyrus, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

He tells us, as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyses: this daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the same by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and entertained with the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.<sup>3</sup>

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle, feigned a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drunk freely, and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure his captivity, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians

Cyrop. l. i. p. 25.

\* Cic. l. i. Epist. l. ad Q. Fratrem.

<sup>1</sup> Her. l. i. c. 107—130. Justin. l. i. c. 4, 6.

a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words, "Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable."<sup>2</sup>

The account given by Herodotus of the infancy of Cyrus, and his first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of a history. And as to the manner of his death, what probability is there that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid for him by a woman? What the same historian relates concerning his hasty, violent passion, and his childish revenge upon the river Gyndes, in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper.<sup>3</sup> Besides, is it at all probable that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river instead of carrying it against his enemies.<sup>4</sup>

But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between his narrative and the holy Scripture; where we see that, instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus relates it, those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference as there is between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best: for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history, informs us that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education and character.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES.

AS SOON as Cambyses was seated on the throne, he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis, of which I have already given an account. But it is more probable that Amasis, whc

<sup>1</sup> *Satis te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.*—Just. l. i. c.

<sup>2</sup> *Her. l. i. c. 205—214. Justin. l. i. c. 8. Herod. l. i. c. 189. Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 21.*

had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.<sup>1</sup>

Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations, both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who, being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks in the service of Amasis, and being in some manner dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyses, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay between the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during his march through the desert that lay between those two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyses could never have marched his army that way.<sup>2</sup>

Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> When he arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in collecting all his forces, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side where he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all probability it must have stopped him a great while. But, according to Polyænus, to facilitate this enterprise, Cambyses adopted the following stratagem. Being informed that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison, not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyses became master of the place without opposition.<sup>4</sup>

When Cambyses had got possession of the city, Psammenitus advanced with a great army to stop his progress; and a considerable battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in the army of Psammenitus, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with great fury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, the greatest part of

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529. Herod. l. iii. c. 1—3.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 4—9.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Polyæn. l. vii.

which were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.<sup>1</sup>

On the occasion of this battle, Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that you might break them, or pierce them through, with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.<sup>2</sup>

Cambyses, having pursued the fugitives to Memphis, sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. Cambyses, having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the first nobility, as there had been of his people massacred, to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, did what he could to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months, after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success, the Lydians, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyses, to offer him their submissions.<sup>3</sup>

From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of his tomb, and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burnt, which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage this prince testified against the dead carcase of Amasis, shows to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyses had for carrying his arms into Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different countries; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to succour him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.<sup>5</sup>

But, being determined to invade the other two nations, he sent

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 11.    <sup>2</sup> Idem. c. 12.    <sup>3</sup> Idem. c. 13.    <sup>4</sup> Idem. c. 16.    <sup>5</sup> Idem. c. 17, 19.

ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, perfumes, and wine. These presents, among which there was nothing useful or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, spies and enemies in disguise. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing, after his manner, to make a present to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarcely lift it, he drew it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: "This is the present and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this size and strength with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let him come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops with him than Cambyses is master of. In the meantime, let them thank the gods for not having put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their dominions beyond their own country."<sup>1</sup>

This answer having enraged Cambyses, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering that he neither had provisions nor anything necessary for such an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his newly conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordered them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But after they had made several days march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed and buried under it.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime, Cambyses marched forward like a madman against the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions, which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil; but Cambyses would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees; but, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as meat for his companions; a meat, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame sævius.*<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops, (who would believe it?) there was

Herod. l. iii. c. 20—24.

<sup>1</sup> Idem. c. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. c. 25, 26.

<sup>3</sup> De Ira, l. iii. c. 23.

no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were still reserved to carry his kitchen furniture, and the instruments of his luxury: *Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.*<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes, where he succeeded much better in the war declared against the gods, whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The richness of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains, saved from the flames, amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver.<sup>2</sup> He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of Ozymandias, being three hundred and fifty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.<sup>3</sup>

From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes; but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this to have been for the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer; upon which he replied that, since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But when, instead of a god, he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and ran it into the thigh of the beast; and then, upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them to be severely whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.<sup>4</sup>

The Egyptians say that, after this feat, which they reckoned to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyses grew mad. But his actions showed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following:<sup>5</sup>

He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus, besides himself, and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition. But, being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which the ambassadors of Cambyses brought him from the king of Ethiopia,

<sup>1</sup> De Ira, l. iii. c. 20.<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43.<sup>3</sup> Idem. p. 46.<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 27—29.<sup>5</sup> Idem. c. 30



Cambyzes from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that somebody told him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the throne, and sent after him, into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.<sup>1</sup>

This murder was the cause of another still more criminal. Cambyzes had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus informs us in what a strange manner his sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyzes absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges, being unwilling on the one hand directly to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a subterfuge, and gave him this crafty answer: that they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry a sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. This answer, serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe, he gave it to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it, having advanced thus far in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The circumstance that gave occasion to his murdering this princess was as follows: One day, Cambyzes was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Cambyzes, but drew tears from Meroe, who, being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better end.<sup>2</sup>

He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some one or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and favourites, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. "They admire, sir," says Prexaspes, "a great many excellent qualities they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine." "I understand you," replied the king, "that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason; you shall be judge of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 31, 32.

that immediately." Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than he had ever done before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him; and, declaring that he aimed it at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing the father the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him, in an insulting, scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining, after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, "Apollo himself could not have shot better." Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.*<sup>1</sup>

When Cræsus took upon him to advise Cambyses against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his order, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Cræsus was alive.<sup>2</sup>

It was about this time, Oretes, one of the *satraps* of Cambyses, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

This Polycrates was a prince, who, through the whole course of his life, had been perfectly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment, or unfortunate accident, to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. In this letter he declared to him that he had terrible apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected; that some malignant envious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly, sooner or later, bring ruin and destruction upon him; and, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.<sup>3</sup>

The tyrant followed his advice. Having an emerald ring which he highly esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of extraordinary size, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish was opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 34, 35. Sec. l. iii. de Ira, c. 14.

Herod. l. iii. c. 36

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 29—43.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He wrote another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange, whimsical notion! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title destitute of all substance and reality.

Be that as it will, the thing did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyses fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another *satrap* had cast upon him, in a private quarrel, for his not having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious to his master, Oretes, upon this, resolved, at any rate, to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this: He feigned an inclination, upon some pretended discontent, to revolt from Cambyses, and in order, he said, to secure his treasure and effects, he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, at the same time to make him a present of one half of them, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a project he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. When he came there, Oretes showed him a vast number of bags full of gold as he said, but in truth filled with stones, and having only the mouth of them covered with gold coin. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends, and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested as an enemy to the state, and, as such, caused him to be hanged. In such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.<sup>1</sup>

Cambyses, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt in order to return into Persia. When he reached Syria, he found a herald there, sent from Susa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in the following manner: Cambyses, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother strongly resembling Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who, perhaps for that reason, was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which was concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyses indulged his extravagance to such a degree that he was grown

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 120—125.

insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately despatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him obedience.<sup>1</sup>

Cambyses caused the herald that came with these orders into Syria to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march and cut off the usurper. But as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking that it was upon the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, looked upon it as a judgment upon him for that sacrilegious impiety.<sup>2</sup>

While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Buto, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; understanding this of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria; for the town where he lay sick of this wound was also called Ecbatana. On this being made known to him, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chiefs of the Persians together, and representing to them that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking he had said all this out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it, but upon his death, quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.<sup>3</sup>

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. In Scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addresses directly to him, desiring him to prevent the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed, he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements he laid the Jews under; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.<sup>4</sup>

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

THIS prince is called in Scripture, Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled on the throne, by the death of Cambyses,<sup>5</sup> the inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iiii. c. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. c. 62—64.

<sup>3</sup> Idem. c. 64—66.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Esd. iv. 4, 6.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522. 1 Esd. iv. 7—14.

Samaria wrote a letter to him, setting forth what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter, they obtained an order from the king, prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, according to the custom of the eastern monarch in those times, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intercourse of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate confidants to his presence.

And, the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied, from his first accession, to gain the affection of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Persians, on the revolution that happened afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

But the very precautions he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people, did not make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among them Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered, that having never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; she could not tell. He then, by a second message, desired her to inquire of Atossa, who could not but know her own brother, whether this was he or not. Whereupon she informed him that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy herself that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to; and finding that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word of it to her father, whereby the fraud was discovered.<sup>2</sup>

Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility; and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia,<sup>3</sup> coming very seasonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. c. 69.

<sup>3</sup> The province so called.

conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.<sup>1</sup>

While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the least expectation of, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus.<sup>2</sup>

When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and, to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had with his own hand killed Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, by order of Cambyses; that the person who now possessed the throne, was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

The conspirators, without knowing anything of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected; for the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give admittance, they drew their scimitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis the Magian and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, lest, at the same time, he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.<sup>3</sup>

In the same instant, with their hands all besmeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patisithes to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this, the people grew so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon their whole sect, and slew as many of them as they could find. For this reason the day on which this was done became thenceforward an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The slaughter of the Magi*; none of that sect venturing to appear in public upon that festival.<sup>4</sup>

When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords who had slain the usurper entered into consultation

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 70—73

<sup>2</sup> Idem. c. 74, 75.

<sup>3</sup> Idem. c. 76—78.

<sup>4</sup> Idem. c. 79.

among themselves, what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniences to which that form of government was liable, chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded by declaring upon a popular government. Megabyzus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. "A king," said he, "knows what he does; but the people neither know nor hear anything, and blindly give themselves up to those who know how to manage them." He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconveniences of an aristocracy, otherwise called oligarchy, wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, all natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder, for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to one man's authority: and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous; the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations, being inexpressibly great. "In short," said he, "to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is the present greatness of the Persian empire owing? Is it not that which I am now recommending?" The opinion of Darius was embraced by the rest of the lords, and they resolved that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

The next question was, to know which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly, they agreed to meet the next morning, by sunrise, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city, and he whose horse first neighed should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined that taking this course would be giving him the honour of the election. The groom of Darius, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his master. He carried, the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, than he began to neigh, whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.<sup>1</sup>

The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87.

They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were the first to deliver their opinions. And whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backward, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forward, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forward the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.<sup>1</sup>

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES, AND PERSIANS.

I SHALL give, in this place, an account of the manners and customs of these several nations jointly, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; besides that, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads:

- I. Their government.
- II. Their art of war.
- III. Their arts and sciences.
- IV. Their religion.

After which I shall lay down the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

#### ARTICLE I. OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

AFTER a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these four things: their public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of the provinces; and the good order observed in their revenues.

#### SECTION I. — THEIR MONARCHIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE RESPECT PAID TO THEIR KINGS. THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.

MONARCHIAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons, the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, especially, Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that ever was established among the eastern

<sup>1</sup>Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87.



nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicegerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the Supreme Governor of the world, and clothed with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people.<sup>1</sup> In this manner did the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungatur.*<sup>2</sup>

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power, because it cometh from God, and is entirely appointed for the good of the public: besides, it is evident that an authority not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism, these honours and homages, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within bounds in that particular. We honour the emperor, said Tertullian, in the name of all the Christians; but in such a manner as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone.<sup>3</sup> For this reason he calls, in another place, the emperor a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first: *Religio secunda majestatis.*<sup>4</sup>

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, "The great king, the king of kings." Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title. The one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head; the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court, or dependent upon them.

The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the oldest. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicing; and his birthday was thenceforward an annual festival and day of solemnity for all the Persians.<sup>5</sup>

The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.<sup>6</sup>

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 125, ad Princ. indoc. p. 780.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

<sup>3</sup> Codinus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit; ut hominem a Deo secundum, et quisquid est, a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem.—Tertul. l. ad Scap.

<sup>4</sup> Apolog. c. i. p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Idem.

prince's person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the law of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify himself against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures, that for a superior strength of mind and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was proper to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably, the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of attendants, that paid him a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipages of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention: dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation, therefore, quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of<sup>1</sup> by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longima-

nus, gives us reason to believe that he was more careful than his predecessors in the point of educating children, but was not closely imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECTION II. — THE PUBLIC COUNCIL, WHEREIN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE WERE CONSIDERED.

AS absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet it was, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council which consisted of seven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished for their wisdom and abilities than for their extraction. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis the Magian, and killed him.

The Scripture relates that Ezra was sent into Judea in the name and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors; "forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellors."<sup>1</sup> The same Scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted anything, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice.

The last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving, on account of his wisdom and prudence; though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now, this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of counsel; nor did he apprehend that the joining of a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: by which proceeding he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and supposes a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents, and narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable is he generally. He thinks it want of respect to offer to discover anything to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and however jealous he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere

<sup>1</sup> Ezra, vii. 14.

with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to govern by the laws: to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him which they prohibit.<sup>1</sup>

In the third place, this council, which everywhere accompanied the king, was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men, and the best heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principal of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. By this council the king discharged himself of several weighty cares, which must otherwise have overburdened him; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights, prevented. For in a public and general council, things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration; because, though, as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in Scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom.

Two things which, as the Scripture informs us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. The first was, their having public registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges allowed to the public, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded.<sup>2</sup> The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by particular persons, were exactly entered.<sup>3</sup> These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past: might have a clear and true idea of the state of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain a uniformity in the course of affairs; and in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

<sup>1</sup> *Satis te, et subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus.*—*Plin. Paneg. Trag.*

<sup>2</sup> *Esd. v. 17, and vi. 2.*

<sup>3</sup> *Esd. iv. 15, and Esth. vi. 1.*

## SECTION III. — THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is but a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. "God hath made you king over his people," said the queen of Sheba to Solomon, "to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them." God hath made everything subject to princes, to put them in a condition of fearing none but him. His design, in making them independent, was to give the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability, or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any person whatever.

But what is that justice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and of which he hath made them depositaries? Surely it is nothing else than order; and order consists in observing a universal equity, and that force may not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common band of society be not broken; that artifice and fraud may not prevail over innocence and simplicity; that all things may rest in peace under the protection of the laws, and the weakest among the people may find his sanctuary in the public authority.

We learn from Josephus, that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons.<sup>1</sup> And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the same manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed, it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others: but to be assisted is not to be deprived or dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of speaking wisely upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science of which they were the only masters and professors, as well as of theology.

Now, since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice, and since, within his dominions there is no power of

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

administering it than what is delegated by him, how greatly does it behoove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so great a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne are worthy to partake of such a prerogative; and strictly to keep all such at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy! We find that in Persia their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. One of their royal judges, for so they called them, having suffered himself to be corrupted by bribery, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place whence he gave judgment should remind him of his duty.<sup>1</sup>

Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years: so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which disposed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.<sup>2</sup>

Among them it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.<sup>3</sup>

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. Upon this principle it was that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment in which it was to be executed,<sup>4</sup> and acknowledged that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.<sup>5</sup>

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser, and without giving him time, and all other means necessary, for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge; and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, sent information to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great credit he had with his majesty,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. v. c. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. vii. c. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Ἦνδς ὡς ταχέστερα αἰρέδς ἢ σοφότερα ἔργα αἰνέδς εἰμ, εἰπέδ.

would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to shut out the innocent from all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king complied with his request: and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial. All the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master.<sup>1</sup> This prince was very wise, and knew that one of the true signs of a prudent government was, to have the subjects stand more in fear of the laws than of informers.<sup>2</sup> He thought that, to act otherwise, would be a violation of the common rules of natural equity and humanity; it would be opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would be exposing the honest simplicity of faithful subjects to the malice of detestable informers, and arming these with the sword of public authority:<sup>3</sup> in a word, it would divest the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the Scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him; but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error; which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them that, far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure them both the more respect. After declaring that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others, he is not ashamed to acknowledge that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the Most High God, through whose goodness he and his ancestors had attained to the throne.<sup>4</sup>

The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown, but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed among them as a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.*

<sup>2</sup> *Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur.—Plin. in Paneg. Trag.*

<sup>3</sup> *Principes, qui delatores non castigat, irritat.—Sueton. in Vit. Domit. c. ix.*

<sup>4</sup> *Esth. c. iii., &c.*

to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, because it makes people liars.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION IV. — THE CARE OF THE PROVINCES.

It seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is nearly inspected, and the very sight of the throne is capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and we may also say with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into a hundred and twenty-seven governments,<sup>2</sup> the governors of which were called *satraps*. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These *satraps* were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These *satraps* being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their station, and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he desired they should be to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the *satraps*, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the *satraps*, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and caused the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and instructions, that if

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces.—Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229, 233.



the *satraps* were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible—those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And, to make this correspondence by letters the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful despatch. I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of this section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

The care of the provinces, however, was not entirely left to the satraps and governors; the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded that the governing only by others is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat those words to the king every morning when he waked, “ Rise, sir, and think of discharging the duties for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne.”<sup>1</sup> Oromasdes was the principal god anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch, in the account he gives of this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition; his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time, personally to visit all the provinces of his empire;<sup>2</sup> being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; “ to reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities; to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the dint of power and severity, as by reason and temper; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates, and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influence universally; or rather like a divinity, to be present everywhere, to see, to hear, and know everything, without rejecting any man’s petitions or complaint.”<sup>3</sup>

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the greatest men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and the ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of everything. When these or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration,

<sup>1</sup> Plut. ad Princ. in doct. p. 780.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. in *Æconom.* p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione comescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit: postremo, velocissimi sideris more, omnia invisere, omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse et adistere.—Plin. in Panegyri. Traj.

and shows how well they understood in those days wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not only employed upon great objects, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient dwelling of the inhabitants, the preparations of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and, above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting of all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; everything, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonwealth is universal. It extends itself to all matters, and takes in everything; it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public.<sup>1</sup> Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Everything in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; everything challenges his attention and regard.

I have already said that agriculture was one of the main things on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was to make husbandry flourish; and those satraps, whose provinces were the best cultivated, enjoyed the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government, so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. Indeed these two employments had a near relation, the business of the one being to guard the country, and of the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both with almost the same degree of affection, because both concurred, and were equally necessary for the public good. Because, if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security, so neither can the soldiers, on the other hand, be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen, who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into everything, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated; that he might know whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry among his subjects, which is the surest means of

<sup>1</sup> In cui curæ sunt universæ, nullam non reip, partem tanquam sui nutrit.—Senec. lib. de Clem. c. xiii.

preventing that increase of drones and idlers that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.<sup>1</sup>

Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as an employment the most worthy of man, the most ancient, and the most suitable to his nature; as the common nurse of persons of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues, both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, made the following answer: that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune, and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure, and so conformable to right reason.<sup>2</sup> "Cùm Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum condensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt satæ: tum Lysandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: <sup>3</sup>RECTE VEROTE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST."<sup>4</sup> How much is it to be wished that our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality, especially if they would consider that for several ages, it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive that I mean the ancient Romans.

#### THE INVENTION OF POSTS AND COURIERS.

I PROMISED to give some account, in this place, of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus; nor, indeed, can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after its last conquests, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and the chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of everything that passed in their several districts and armies, in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to put himself in a condition of receiving speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of sending his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day, without being spoiled, he had stables

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Econ. p. 827—830.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. p. 830—833.

<sup>3</sup> In the original Greek there is still a greater energy; *Δικαίως μετ' δόξης, ὃ Κῆρα, ἐχέτιστον εἶπεν ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὂν ἀπὸς εὐδαιμονίας*. Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because, with all thy affluence and prosperity, thou art also virtuous

<sup>4</sup> Cic. de Senect. num. 59.

built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a postmaster, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed; nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the weather, interrupt its progress.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.<sup>2</sup>

These couriers were called, in the Persian language, Ἀλλαιοί.<sup>3</sup> The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. Darius, the last king of the ancient Persians, had it before he came to the crown.<sup>4</sup> Xenophon takes notice that this establishment subsisted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through the vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts established by Cyrus.

People are justly surprised to find that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued for many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering the usefulness of it to a government, should never have been imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and Romans.

It is more astonishing that where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds: by the expedition it would have procured to the affairs of private persons; the despatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of affairs together; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person that was going into the province or country whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expense; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it; the want thereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression

<sup>1</sup> Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. viii. c. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀλλαιοί is derived from a word which, in that language, signifies a service rendered by compulsion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb ἀγγαρεύειν, compellere, cogere; and the Latins, angariare. According to Suidas, they were likewise called ἀστανδαί.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. l. i. de Fortun. Alex. p. 326, et in vit. Alex. p. 974, ubi. pro Ἀργάνων, legendum Ἀστανδών.

The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all parts of the country, did, for their sakes and conveniency, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets, for the public as well as the university. In the university-registers of the four nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii volantes*, to signify the great speed and despatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expense that she erected these offices, to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has, moreover, maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never was any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund or support, than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that King Louis XV. by his decree of the council of state, of the 14th of April 1719, and by his letters-patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught *gratis*; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres, or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup>

It is not, therefore, without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, regards Louis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit, which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION V. — ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES.

THE prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him are the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But, to enable him to defend it, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expenses. It is, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> About \$37,740.

<sup>2</sup> Quintil. l. xii. c. 7.

just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of empire; as also to procure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and the imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expenses of the state, have been the first cause of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions, since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can purchase his peace and security at the expense of so slender a contribution.

The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in moneys imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind, as corn and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded.<sup>1</sup> Strabo relates, that the satrap of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts.<sup>2</sup> By this we may form an estimate of the other levies in the several provinces. But we are to consider, that the tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations; for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and determining the sums, each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time the pecuniary impositions, as nearly as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to nearly forty-four millions, French money.<sup>3</sup>

The place in which the public treasure was kept was called, in the Persian language, Gaza.<sup>4</sup> There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargarda, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians was of gold, and called *Daric*, from the name of Darius,<sup>5</sup> who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The *Daric* is sometimes also called *Stater Aureus*, because the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

Besides these tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provision for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessaries for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the one hundred and twenty satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, alone furnished the part of the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 89—97.

<sup>2</sup> About \$8,880,000.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. xi. p. 530.

<sup>4</sup> Curt. l. iii. c. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined. Value, one dollar, eighty-seven and a half cents.

burden of the whole imposition, while the rest of Asia together contributed the other two thirds.<sup>1</sup>

By what has been already said on this subject, we see that the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy only a part of them in money, and take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt, it had been observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money, without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to the rendering of taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation, trouble, and expense, as taking in payment from each country, such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

There were likewise certain cantons assigned and set apart for maintaining the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments: and these districts, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the Queen's Girdle, another the Queen's Veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.<sup>2</sup>

The way in which kings gave pensions in those days to such persons as they had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queens. We read, that the king of Persia assigned the revenue of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture.<sup>3</sup> Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenues of seven cities.<sup>4</sup> In following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

## ARTICLE II.

### OF THEIR WAR.

THE people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleasure. When I say all, I must be understood to except the Persians, who, even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iiii. c. 91—97. et l. i. c. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Them. p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. l. i. p. 36.

With respect, therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence appear in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in the reign of Cyrus; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise, after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shown in the sequel.

#### I. THEIR ENTERING INTO THE SERVICE, OR INTO MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

THE Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises.<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, they served in the armies, from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore swords as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to enlist themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in this respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired, as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.<sup>2</sup>

Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called Immortal, because this body, which consisted of ten thousand, perpetually subsisted, and was always complete; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place.<sup>3</sup> The establishment of this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their singular courage. Quintus Curtius also mentions this body of men, and likewise another body consisting of fifteen thousand, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person; the latter were called doryphori, or lancers.<sup>4</sup>

#### II. THEIR ARMOUR.

THE ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acina-ces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of a dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half-pike, having a sharp pointed iron at the end.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to throw, and the other to fight with. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown among them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called *tiaras*; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, and his army.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. lxxiii. sub. finem.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. iv. et vi. Sen. de Ira. l. iii. c. 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. vii. c. 83.

<sup>5</sup> De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263.



And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that their custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artfully fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, breasts, and flanks, covered with brass. These are what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horses.

Authors differ much about the form and fashion of their shields. At first they used very small and light ones; made only of twigs of osier, *gerra*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers, slingers, &c. composed the bulk of the armies among the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

### III. CHARIOTS ARMED WITH SCYTHES.

CYRUS introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war.<sup>1</sup> These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service; since, for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horses and six hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots and doubled the number of the fighting men that rode in them, by putting the drivers in a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken; and their axle-trees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axle-tree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axle-tree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. It appears from several passages in authors, that in aftertimes, besides all this, they added two long iron

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Cyrop. l vi p. 152.

spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives, to hinder any one from mounting behind.<sup>1</sup>

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain causes of victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all others to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the inconveniences of them were discovered, and at length they were laid aside. For, to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in large plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gullies, woods, nor vineyards.

In aftertimes several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes, in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances, upon them, and at the same time begin shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses, and occasioned such disorder and confusion, as often made them turn upon their own forces.<sup>2</sup> At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and inactive, only by marching over the space which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots, by raising loud peals of laughter, as if they had been at the games of the circus, and by crying out to them to send more.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. THEIR DISCIPLINE IN PEACE AS WELL AS IN WAR.

NOTHING can be imagined more perfect than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods used by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue, by keeping them continually active and employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battle by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards, all present a perfect model for those who have the command of troops, to whom, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, greatly sharpen and excite. A prudent

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* l. xxxvii. n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Plat. in Syll. p. 463.*

foresight ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.<sup>1</sup>

Whenever the Persian armies marched, everything was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle; not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom among all Asiatics, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches; though sometimes they fortified them with strong palisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.<sup>2</sup>

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of their exactness on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the accounts we have of it in several parts of the *Cyropædia*. No single family could be better regulated, or pay a more ready and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish a good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his discourse, and softened the rigour of his commands.<sup>3</sup> The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing everything to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others.<sup>4</sup> Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love of their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in full force and vigour.

#### V. THEIR ORDER OF BATTLE.

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else than field expeditions; for which reason that wise

<sup>1</sup> ————— *Metuensque futuri.*

*In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.—Her. Satyr. ii. 1, 2.*

<sup>2</sup> *Diod. l. i. p. 24, 25.*

<sup>3</sup> *Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adesse: laudem strepitus, solatium in validis, exemplum omnibus ostendere.—Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 35.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli assequantur, qui periculi non affuerunt.—Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. c. 53.*

prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory than a numerous and good cavalry; and that the gaining of a single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly, we see that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying the defect, and so far succeeded, by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness, at least, if not in number. There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media; but in the latter province, those of a place called Nisea were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished.<sup>1</sup> We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended, either in the use of arms or disposition of armies.

They knew, that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act themselves, as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise as one single line might easily be pierced through and broken, it would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason, they formed the first line of foot, heavily armed, twelve men deep,<sup>2</sup> who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy hand to hand with their swords, or scimitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to throw their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, pointed with iron, and were thrown with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force; but, in aftertimes, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had, besides, moving towers, carried upon huge wagons, drawn

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. vii. c. 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Before Cyrus's time it was twenty-four men.

by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army, behind the body of reserve, and were used to support their troops when they were driven back by the enemy, and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use, too, of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them at certain times upon the flanks of the army, or when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art, with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find that they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable spot, or bringing the war into a close country; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains, and by that means to make the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous, and to put it out of the enemy's power to surround or flank them.

Yet, in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, they seemed to have made their first advances and essays in this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience, made the great commanders in after ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war; and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations, made of them.

#### VI. THEIR MANNERS OF ATTACKING AND DEFENDING STRONG PLACES.

THE ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

##### I. THEIR WAY OF ATTACKING PLACES.

THE first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and magazines; and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with pallasadoes, to hinder the besieged from going out, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related by the ancients; as that of Troy,<sup>1</sup> which lasted ten years; that of Azoth by Psamme-

<sup>1</sup> Homer makes no mention of the battering-ram, or any warlike engine.

sicus, which lasted twenty; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where a stock of provisions for twenty years had been laid in, if he had not devised a different method of taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means of which a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their cities extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts; and this was, building moveable towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with these wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who with darts and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then, from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of draw-bridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast thick beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it, which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. There were several kinds of them; but I shall give a more ample and particular account of these, as well as other warlike engines, in another place.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways, that is, either to carry a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so open themselves a passage and entrance into it; or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, to fill the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then to set that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

## 2. THEIR MANNER OF DEFENDING PLACES.

WITH respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a steep ascent, and fenced them round with palisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick-work, that the battering-ram should

not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derive their origin, for the flanking of the curtains; they ingeniously invented different machines for shooting arrows, throwing darts and lances, and hurling great stones with vast force and violence; they had parapets and battlements in the walls for the security of the soldiers, and covered galleries, which, going quite round the walls, served as subterraneous passages; they had intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers; they made their sallies, too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire; as also counter-mines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last recourse to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practised among the ancients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns, as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gun-powder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram, and musket-shot instead of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much use of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

#### VII. THE CONDITION OF THE PERSIAN FORCES AFTER THE TIME OF CYRUS.

I HAVE already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign, I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages which result from severity, order, and discipline; from skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping, and that happiness of conduct which moves those great bodies without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons in the

retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights, in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars, the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and in short, all the equipage and utensils required in so voluptuous a life. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, had the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders never reached them in time; and in action, every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's preventing disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity: because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed all that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

With all this vast train, however, the Persians astonished those nations that were not more expert in military affairs than themselves; and many of those that even excelled them, were yet overcome, being either weakened or distressed by their own divisions, or overpowered by the enemy's numbers. By this means Egypt, as proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of her Sesostrius, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer Lesser Asia, and such Greek colonies as the luxury of Egypt had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies, indeed, were but small; but they were like those strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that it seemed as if all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul, so perfect a harmony was there in all their motions.

### ARTICLE III.

#### ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I DO not pretend to give an account of the eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy, its true design, the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfection, and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, adapted to the majesty of the subject it treats. The discourse of Job's friends, who lived in the east, as he himself did,



and who were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of eastern eloquence in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to Plato,<sup>1</sup> that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, of which they have falsely ascribed the invention to chimerical persons, long posterior to the deluge. The holy Scriptures inform us, that before that epoch, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and putting them to numberless uses, that are necessary and convenient for life and society.<sup>2</sup>

We learn from the same Scriptures, that, very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it, to gild wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals, as brass, silver, or gold, and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing different kinds of objects, and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and 5. To name no more, that of dyeing their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the nurse, as it were, of arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition, and which were afterwards revived and restored, by means of men's wants and necessities, which put them upon all methods of industry and application.

#### SECTION I. — ARCHITECTURE.

THE building of the tower of Babel, and, shortly after, of those famous cities, Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into numerous halls and apartments, and adorned with everything that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers, their large and commodious quays on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them; all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, show to what a degree of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

Yet I cannot say whether, in those ages, this art arose to that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or whether those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity

<sup>1</sup> In *Timæo*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen.* vi.

as they were for their magnitude and spaciousness. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite; but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order, which gives us reason to doubt whether symmetry, measure, and proportion of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

## SECTION II. — MUSIC.

It is no wonder if, in a country like Asia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, music, which is in a manner the soul of such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal styles of ancient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin, or, at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. We learn from holy Scripture, that in Laban's time, instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law, Jacob, he complains that, by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family, "with mirth and with song, with tabret and with harp."<sup>1</sup> Among the booty that Cyrus had ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous female musicians,<sup>2</sup> very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.<sup>3</sup>

To determine what degree of perfection music was carried to by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the more difficult to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine both with our eyes and our ears. But unhappily, it is not with music, in this respect, as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whereas, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment of it, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed that they excelled in what relates to rhythmus. What is meant by rhythmus is, the assemblage or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed that the music we are speaking of, was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which every syllable was distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, while the latter made up two; and consequently, the sound which answered to this was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxi. 27.<sup>2</sup> Μουσικὸὶ δύο τὰς ἀφρίστας.<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. iv. p. 184.

consist of two times or measures, while the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung consisted of a certain number of feet, formed by the different combinations of these long and short syllables; and that the rhythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of whatever nature or extent, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *ἔπος*, elevation or rising, and the latter *ἄσος*, depressing or falling; so the rhythmus of the song, which answered to every one of these feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a *beat*, and rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal music, made their rhythmus much more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but, nevertheless, a skilful musician among us may in some manner express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rhythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done out of regard for young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the ancients is, to know whether they understood music in several parts; that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have a harmonious connexion, as it is in our counterpoint or concert, whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the memoirs of the Royal Academy *des Belles-Lettres*, which show the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

### SECTION III. — PHYSIC.

WE likewise discover, in those early times, the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. Herodotus, and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians, to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn from them whether they had been afflicted with the like distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured.<sup>1</sup> From hence several people have pretended that physic is nothing else than a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made a great use of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. The custom was, in those days, for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a tablet dedicated to *Æsculapius*, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to health.<sup>2</sup> That

<sup>1</sup> Her. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. 16, p. 746.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. xxix. c. 197, c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374.

celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem.<sup>1</sup> Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is looked upon as the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and surgical operations; for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included under the denomination of Physic.

The two sons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were both most excellent physicians and brave officers, and rendered as much service in the Grecian army, by their skill in their medical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity.<sup>2</sup> Nor did Achilles himself, or even Alexander the Great, in aftertimes, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, he learned it himself of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his friend Patroclus in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain, and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. Virgil, speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples: *Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi maluit.*<sup>4</sup> It was nature itself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. Their gardens, fields, and woods supplied them with an infinite plenty and variety.<sup>5</sup> As yet no use was made of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.<sup>6</sup>

Pliny says that physic, brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit.<sup>7</sup> This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard.<sup>8</sup> He farther remarks that, in this, Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals; and that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.<sup>9</sup>

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that it was Hippocrates who carried this science to its highest perfection: and though it is certain

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. v. p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. Iliad, l. x. v. 821—847.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 662.

<sup>4</sup> Æn. l. xii. v. 306.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. l. xxvi. c. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. l. xxiv. c. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. xxix. c. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Cyrop. l. i. p. 29, et l. viii. p. 212.

<sup>9</sup> De Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 316.

that several improvements and new discoveries have been made in that art since his time, yet he is still looked upon, by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of the faculty, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those who would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, besides their having studied the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, besides the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: "The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration:"<sup>1</sup> since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings, are devoted to the people's health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but, through a blind credulity, they foolishly intrust it with persons of no skill or experience, who impose upon them by their imprudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION IV. — ASTRONOMY.

As much as the Grecians desired to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide extended flat country, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people in a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies and the regular course of the stars.<sup>3</sup> The abbé Renaudot, in his Dissertation upon the Sphere, observes that the plain which in Scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same that is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaeddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused a course of the like observations to be made, near three hundred years afterwards, in the same place: from

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. xxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Palam est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illiæ vitæ nostræ necique fieri.—Ad eo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dolcedo.—Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A principio Assyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cum œclum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt.—Cic. lib. i. de Divis. n. 2.

whence it appears that this place was always reckoned one of the most suitable in the world for astronomical observations.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection, for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical inquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny, speaks of observations made for the space of seven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick: which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Those of which Calisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.<sup>3</sup>

We are certainly under great obligations, for which our acknowledgments are due, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shows, the study of that science has a very close and necessary connexion; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who, with an infinite wisdom, presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions.<sup>4</sup> But, at the same time, we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, by their successful application and astronomical inquiries, came very near the Creator, and were yet so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.<sup>5</sup>

#### SECTION V. — JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY.

As to the Babylonian and other eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of Him who is both their creator and governor, that for the most part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagances of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which pretends to judge of things to come by the knowledge of stars, and to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects. A science justly looked upon as a madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first produced them; who, in consequence

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the Academy des Belles-Lettres, Vol. I, Part ii. p. 2,

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Porphy. apud. Simplic. in l. ii. de cœlo.

<sup>4</sup> In Epinom. c. 989—992.

<sup>5</sup> Magna industria, magna solertia: sed ibi Creatorem scrutati sunt positum non longe a se, et non invenerunt—quia querere, neglexerunt.—August. de Verb. Evang. Matth. Serm. lxxviii. c. 1.

of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events for the space *only* of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretend to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets, at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and, in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He details a thousand absurdities of this opinion, which are sufficient to expose it to ridicule and contempt; and asks, why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two of them whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this farther question, whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?<sup>1</sup>

It is hardly credible that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, *fraudentissima artium*, as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into such repute, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *Nulla non avido futura de se sciendi*; attended with a superstitious credulity, which is agreeably flattered with the grateful and magnificent promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus.*<sup>2</sup>

Modern writers, and among others, two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science, with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principle and experience.<sup>3</sup>

As for its principles: The heavens, according to the system of the astrologers, are divided into twelve equal parts; which parts are taken, not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac: these twelve parts or proportions of heaven have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. The most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally arbitrary; and I ask, whether any man of common sense can believe them upon the bare words of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of pregnancy? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise determi-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. de Div. n. 87, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Præm. l. xxx.

<sup>3</sup> Gassendi Phys. sect. ii. l. 6. Rohault's Phys. part ii. c. 27.

nate moment, without the least variation, more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves on that side. Whatever they have of that, must consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now, it is unanimously agreed by astronomers, that several thousand years must pass before any such situation of the stars as they would imagine can twice happen; and it is very certain that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above mentioned, particularly Gassendi, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute want of all reason is, that certain pretended wits, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convicting proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of those astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a just chastisement from God, who frequently punishes the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still more in their nets, sometimes to foretell things which do really come to pass, and of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.<sup>1</sup>

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, does often in Scripture revile the ignorance of the Babylonian astrologers, so much boasted of, calling them forgers of lies and falsehood: he moreover defies all the false gods to foretell anything whatever; consents, if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed, above two hundred years after that prediction; and that none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its exe-

<sup>1</sup> *His omnibus consideratis, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, oculo instincta fieri spirituum non bonorum, cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quæ nulla est.—De Civ. Dei, l. v. c. 7.*

<sup>2</sup> "Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be, thou shalt be able to profit, if so be, thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame."—*Isa. xlvii. 11—14.*



cution, when Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, were not able so much as to read the writing.<sup>1</sup> Here, then, we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence in the very place where they were most in practice, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display their science and whole power.

## ARTICLE IV.

### RELIGION.

THE most authentic and general idolatry in the world is that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil, which both covered and discovered him. With the least reflection or penetration, they might have discerned the Sovereign who commanded, from the minister who did but obey.<sup>2</sup>

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires, and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore, foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience by laying their hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to those false gods, but that they could not.<sup>3</sup> This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the East, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand."<sup>4</sup>

The Persians adored the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the most profound veneration, to whom they dedicated a magnificent chariot; with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade.<sup>5</sup> (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians; of whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Palestine.) Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known among them by the name of Mithra.<sup>6</sup>

By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in the sacrifices,<sup>7</sup> carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes if it had been suffered to go out.<sup>8</sup> History informs us that the emperor Heraclius,

<sup>1</sup> Dan. v. 2.      <sup>2</sup> Among the Hebrews, the ordinary name for the sun signifies a minister.

<sup>3</sup> Superstitiosus vulgus manum ori admovens, osculum labilis pressit.—Minuc. p. 2. From thence comes the word *adorare*; that is to say, *ad os manum admovere*.

<sup>4</sup> The text is a kind of oath, Job. xxxi. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Hor. l. i. c. 131.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings, xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 782.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii.

when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country.<sup>1</sup> The Persians likewise honoured water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.<sup>2</sup>

The cruel ceremony of causing children to pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The Scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that "they caused their children to pass through the fire." It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius.<sup>3</sup> The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a large account of these deities hereafter.

The Persians erected neither statues nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places.<sup>4</sup> It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of.<sup>5</sup> It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of God, to shut him up within the walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as a house or a temple.<sup>6</sup>

Cicero thinks that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby supposed their gods to reside among them, which was a proper way to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety.<sup>7</sup> Varro was not of the same opinion: St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works.<sup>8</sup> After having observed that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues or images for above a hundred and seventy years, he adds, that if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been the more pure and free from corruption; *Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur*; and to confirm his sentiment, he cites the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all particular persons to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves only, but for the king

<sup>1</sup> Zonar. Annal. Vol. II.      <sup>2</sup> Her. l. i. c. 131.      <sup>3</sup> Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quod parietibus incluserunt deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patientia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus.—Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

<sup>7</sup> Melius Græci atque nostri, qui, ut auferent pietatem in deos, easdem illos urbes, quas nos incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus.—Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei, n. 31.

and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any strangers in these matters, without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles, and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for that distinguished person.<sup>1</sup>

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *ἁγιὸν ἑσπασίαν*, gave the Magi great authority, both with the prince and the people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

And before a prince in Persia could come to the crown, he was obliged to receive instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner.<sup>2</sup> Nor did he determine any important affair of state, when he was upon the throne, without first taking their advice and opinion; for which reason Pliny says that even in his time they were looked upon, in all the eastern countries, as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the kings of kings.<sup>3</sup>

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were among the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation invited people from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that learning, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. What Pliny says upon this head, may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr Prideaux.<sup>4</sup> We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of 600 years. The first of them

<sup>1</sup> In Them. p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non ante Magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit.—Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 91.

<sup>3</sup> In tantum fastigii adolevit (auctoritas Magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat et in oriente regum regibus imperet.—Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 14

was the founder of the Magian sect about the year of the world 2900, and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the East, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabeans, who adored images; and that of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the several planets, which they believed to be inhabited by so many intelligences, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences or deities were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time the number of their gods increased; this image-worship, from Chaldea, spread itself throughout all the East; from thence passed to Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabeans, that of the Magi, which also took its rise in the same eastern countries, was diametrically opposite. The Magi utterly abhorred images, and worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtlety, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol or representation of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. The chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Ahraman. The former is by the Greeks called Gromasdes, and the latter Arimanius. And therefore, when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning these two gods, they had this difference of opinion, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, others contended that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have a world to himself; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but, since the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 126.

great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the first principle of it. For whereas before, they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two supreme first causes; the first light, which was the author of all good, and the other darkness, the author of all evil: and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle, superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one Supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good, and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil; that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that exist; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer, in everlasting darkness, the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive, in everlasting light, the reward due to their good deeds; that after this, they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. All this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia and India, do, without any variation, after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these tenets, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy Scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God; the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might confer with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fires were carefully and constantly preserved; and especially that which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priest kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in dean Prideaux's *Connections of the Old and New Testament*, &c. from whence I have taken this short extract.

## THEIR MARRIAGES, AND MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD.

HAVING said so much of the religion of the eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity: among which their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of their country, upon a certain festival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel, or place of debauchery.<sup>1</sup> This wicked custom was still existing when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so abominable a scandal.<sup>2</sup>

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios, and of whom they were as jealous as if they had but one wife, keeping them shut up in separate apartments, under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors.<sup>3</sup> It strikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a sister was allowed among them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyses.<sup>4</sup> Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. We read in Plutarch, that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which declared such marriage to be unlawful. "For," says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, "are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?"<sup>5</sup>

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having become master of Persia by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. It was not the custom of the eastern nations,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Baruch, vi. 42, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Philo. lib. de Special. Leg. p. 773. Diog. Laert. in Procem. p. 6. <sup>5</sup> In Artax p. 1023.

and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly we find that Cyrus,<sup>2</sup> when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return.<sup>3</sup> And when Cambyſes had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax,<sup>4</sup> in order to keep them the longer from corruption.<sup>5</sup>

I thought proper to give a full account, in this place, of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of Barnabas Brisson,<sup>6</sup> president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with matter of erudition, that costs him little, and yet often does him great honour.

## ARTICLE V.

### THE CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND OF THE CHANGE THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR MANNERS.

WHEN we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus, and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reign of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people; and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners, in any state, is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

#### SECTION I.—LUXURY AND MAGNIFICENCE.

WHAT caused the Persian troops, in Cyrus's time, to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their ordinary food, the ground,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operi mento miris obducitur.—Cic. lib. ii. d. Leg. n. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Conducunt Ægyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cera circum litos conducunt ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora.—Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. n. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Barnab. Brissonius de Regio Persarum Principatu &c. Argentorati, an. 1716.

or something as hard, to lie upon; inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing.

The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate.<sup>1</sup> The excellent manner of educating the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates and regulated upon principles of the public good: this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them, therefore, we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories, he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not, at that very time, sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show that could be contrived to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things, he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, increases the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye, and makes a fine show, how glad they are to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and what an equipage such a troop must be attended with is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Apophth. p. 171.



his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Another instance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the most costly dainties, must needs be found for the prince, in whatever part of the world he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number;<sup>2</sup> instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.<sup>3</sup>

I do not see what reason Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last seven years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may, on certain occasions, be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes, possessed of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of making up what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found, by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expenses; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for vanity and expense first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim.

What is this subtle, secret poison, then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury, and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating, at the same time, both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv. p. 91—99.

<sup>2</sup> Senec. l. iii. de Ira. c. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Non belli sed luxuriæ apparatus — *Acieum Persarum auro purpuraque fulgentem intem jubebat Alexander, prædam, non arma gestantem.*—Q. Curt.

voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements that endear it to them, and which, by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and deter them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECTION II.—THE ABJECT SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY OF THE PERSIANS.

We are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And, indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies: and, as it was finely said by one of the ancients, "from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue."<sup>1</sup> He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principle motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the success of public affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be said, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; he did not think that despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open, and free access allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table, not only his general officers, and prime ministers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently.<sup>2</sup> His aim therein was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may be truly called the art of reigning and commanding.

In reading Xenophon, with what pleasure do we observe, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery, but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gayety, which enlivened their entertainments, from which all vanity and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that

<sup>1</sup> Hom. Odys. v. 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantas vires habet frugalitas principis, ut tot impendiis tot erogationibus sola sufficiat.*—Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such life and spirit to it, as nothing but real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such conduct as this, a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as the Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident; and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbria, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads, with an imperial diadem round it, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and shining court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the eastern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his ascension to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so: and Plutarch observes that that prince, and queen Statira his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and easy of access to their people, and by so doing were but the more respected.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Persians, no subject whatever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him: and this law, which Seneca, with good reason, calls a Persian slavery, *Persicam servitutem*, extended also to foreigners.<sup>2</sup> We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctancy; and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, purposely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account.<sup>3</sup> But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about a homage which the king exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

<sup>1</sup> In Artax. p. 1013.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. de Benef. c. 12. et lib. iii. de Ira. c. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ælian. l. i. Var. Hist. c. cxi.

What the scripture relates of two sovereigns,<sup>1</sup> on one hand, one of whom commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other, on the same penalty, suspended all acts of religion, with regard to the gods in general, except to himself only; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran altogether, upon the first signal, to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king, exclusively of all the powers of heaven: all this shows to what an extravagant excess the eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects that the latter, of whatever rank or quality, whether satraps, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only looked upon as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity. In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatics, and the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery;<sup>2</sup> which made Cicero say, that the despotic power, which some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth, would be an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.<sup>3</sup>

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes, on the one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king.<sup>4</sup> Such a haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery, leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them, in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men so dispirited and depressed by slavery, as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude! which, to use the words of Longinus, is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said, in some sort, to grow little and contracted!<sup>5</sup>

I am unwilling to say it, but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians, both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians, till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances, first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance, for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus, who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed

<sup>1</sup> Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii. and Darius the Mede. Dan. c. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. in Apoph. p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. x. Epist. ad Attic.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. xxxv.

persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude, and by the Persians, as well as the other nations.<sup>1</sup> In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul, which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion; and I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks, with which prosperity is always assailing even the best of princes, *Secundæ res sapientum animos fatigant*;<sup>2</sup> and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him from himself, and his own natural inclination: *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus*.<sup>3</sup>

SECTION III.—THE WRONG EDUCATION OF THEIR PRINCES ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

It is Plato, still the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.<sup>4</sup>

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible, how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience.<sup>5</sup>

What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to preserve themselves in the practice of the same manners as were practised there.

Would one believe, that a prince who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country where vanity, luxury and voluptuousness, reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes Cambyses and Smerdis educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them; nor were their desires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped, and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness, to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars; for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. ii. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Sallust.

<sup>3</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 694, 695.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrop. l. vii. p. 206.

brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war, for they must have been of sufficient years; but perhaps the women opposed his design, and overruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as ought to be expected from it. Cambyses came out of that school, what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a furious, frantic madman, who, by his ill conduct, brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death many vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land; but he had not given him the means of preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflection with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were, but ascended the throne, with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this, Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quick-sands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire, was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

#### SECTION IV.—THEIR BREACH OF FAITH, OR WANT OF SINCERITY.

WE are informed by Xenophen, that one of the causes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith.<sup>1</sup> Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties, into which they had entered with the solemnity of an oath, and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity; and it was by this true policy and prudent conduct that they gained the absolute confidence both of their own subjects, and of their neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

hours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus, whose great maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that if probity and truth were renounced by the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king, who, being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of plighted faith; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.<sup>1</sup>

Such sentiments as these, so noble, and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious, artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon,<sup>2</sup> which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief offices of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interest, who hold it as a maxim, that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients for bringing about his enterprises and designs; who looked upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer reasons and considerations of state before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in ever so solemn and sacred a manner,<sup>3</sup>

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety; and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity brought in, not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them, and for the keeping all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the Supreme Being, how will they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be distinguished in the subject as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obe-

<sup>1</sup> De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἐπὶ τῷ καταργεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, συντομοτάτην ἕδωκεν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ἐπιτοκῆν τε, καὶ ψεύθεσθαι, καὶ ἕκαστὸν τὸ δι' ἑαλόν τε καὶ ἀληθῆ, τὸ αὐτὸ τε ἡλίθιον εἶναι.*—De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 292.

dience, and on what foundations shall the throne be supported? Cyrus had good reason to say, that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best-established empires, and sooner or later occasion, their utter destruction.<sup>1</sup> Kings, says Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of the unfaithfulness and disloyalty of their subjects; but they do them wrong, and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which, on all occasions, they had sacrificed, without scruple, to their own particular interests.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Plut. in Pyrrh.* p. 390.



## BOOK FIFTH.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND SETTLEMENT OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE.

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OF all the countries of antiquity, none have been so highly celebrated, or furnished history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples as Greece. In whatever light she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws, or the study and improvement of arts and sciences, we must allow that she carried them to the utmost degree of perfection; and it may truly be said that, in all these respects, she has in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much affected with the history of such a nation; especially when we consider that it has been transmitted to us by writers of extraordinary merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords, as by their pens, and were as great commanders and able statesmen as excellent historians. I confess it is a vast advantage to have such men for guides; men of an exquisite judgment and consummate prudence; of a just and perfect taste in every respect; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented; but, what is more important, the proper reflections that are to accompany those facts, and which are the great advantages resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw all that I have to say, having previously, however, inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as

brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

## ARTICLE I.

### A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

ANCIENT Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan, or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece are, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Greece properly so called, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is situated to the west, and divided from Thessaly and Macedonia by Mount Pindus and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The most remarkable inhabitants of Epirus are, the MOLOSSIANS, whose chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The CHAONIANS, whose principal city is Oricum. The THESSALIANS, whose city is Buthrotum, where was the palace and residence of Pyrrhus. The ACARNANIANS, whose city was Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood Actium, famous for the victory of Augustus Cæsar, who built, opposite to that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous story, Cocytus and Acheron.

Epirus must have been very well peopled in former times; as Polybius relates that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the Molossians; and that he carried away from thence no less than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninsula, now called the Morea, joined to the rest of Greece only by the Isthmus of Corinth, which is but six miles broad. It is well known that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this Isthmus.

The parts of Peloponnesus are ACHAIA, properly so called, whose chief cities are, Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, &c. ELIS, in which is Olympia, otherwise called Pisa, seated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games used to be celebrated. MESSENIA, in which are the cities of Messene, and Pylos, the birth-place of Nestor and Corona. ARCADIA, in which was Cylene, the mountain where Mercury was born, the cities of Tegea, Stymphalus, Nantinea, and Megalopolis, the native place of Polybius. LACONIA, wherein stood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ; Mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. ARGOLIS, in which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Trœzene, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æsculapius.

<sup>1</sup> Apud. Strab l. vii. p. 322.

GREECE, properly so called. The principal parts of this country were ÆTOLIA, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon, and Olenus. DORIS. LOCRIS, inhabited by the OZOLÆ. Naupactum, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. PHOCIS. Anticyra. Delphos, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was Mount Helicon. BŒOTIA. Mount Cithæron, Orchomenus. Thespia. Chæronea, Plutarch's native country. Platae, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. ATTICA. Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munychia, and Phaleras. The mountain Hymettus, famous for its excellent honey. LOCRIS.

THESSALY. The most remarkable towns of this province were Gomphi, Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the defeat of Xerxes's numerous army by the vigorous resistance of three hundred Spartans. Phthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I shall only mention a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. Ægæa. Ædessa. Palene. Olinthus, from whence the Olynthiæcs of Demosthenes took their name. Torone. Arcanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Anthony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos; and the river Strymon.

#### THE GRECIAN ISLES.

THERE are a great number of islands, contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Corcyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalonia and Zante. Ithaca, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, opposite to Laconia, is Cythera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina and Salamin, so famous for the naval battle between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lies the Sporades, and the Cyclades, the most noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, anciently famous for fine marble. Higher up in the Ægean sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Skyros, and beyond is Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and still farther, Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, now Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and lastly, Samos. Some of these last-mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, now Candia, is the largest of all the islands contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the *Ægean sea*, or the *Archi pelagæ*, and to the south the African ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnossus; its mountains, Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous throughout the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles.

They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria,<sup>1</sup> which places are for that reason called *Græcia Magna*.

But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor, and particularly in *Æolis*, *Ionia*, and *Doris*.<sup>2</sup> The principal towns of *Æolis*, are *Cumæ*, *Chocæa*, *Elea*. Of *Ionia*, *Smyrna*, *Clazomenæ*, *Teos*, *Lebedus Colophon*, and *Ephesus*. Of *Doris*, *Halicarnassus* and *Cnidos*.

They had also a great number of colonies in different parts of the world, of which I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

## ARTICLE II.

### DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY INTO FOUR SEVERAL AGES.

THE Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, noted by so many memorable epochs, all which together include the space of 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece, beginning with that of Sicyon, which is the most ancient, to the siege of Troy, and comprehends about a thousand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The second begins at the taking of Troy and reaches to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians, and contains the space of six hundred and sixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third is dated from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the finest part of Grecian history, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and last age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epoch of the utter ruin and downfall of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and destruction of Corinth by the consul L. Mummius in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Asia, by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939; and of the kingdom of the Lagidæ in Egypt, by Augustus, A. M. 3974. This last age includes, in all, two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of these four distinct ages, I shall in this place only touch upon the two first in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general idea of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, partake more of fable than of real history, and are wrapped up in a darkness and obscurity, which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to penetrate: and I have often declared already, that such a

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. vi. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. vi. c. 2.

dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are entering deep into history, does not come within the plan of my design.

### ARTICLE III.

#### THE PRIMITIVE ORIGIN OF THE GRECIANS.

In order to arrive at any certain knowledge concerning the derivation of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the account we have of it in the holy Scriptures.

Javan or Ion, for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed, form these two different names, the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks.<sup>1</sup> But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. And for this reason, Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel,<sup>2</sup> is mentioned under the name of the king of Javan.<sup>3</sup>

Javan had four sons, Elisha, Tarsis, Chittim, and Dodanim.<sup>4</sup> As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, no doubt but his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became, in succeeding ages, so renowned for arts and arms.

Elisha is the same as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee translation; and the word "Ελλας, which was used in the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word "Ελλας was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The city of Elis, very ancient in Peloponnessus, the Elysian fields, the river Elisius, or Ilisus, have long retained the marks of their being derived from Elisha, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; because, as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, they did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another source, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarsis was the second son of Javan. He settled, as his brethren did, in some parts of Greece, perhaps in Achaia or the neighbouring provinces, as Elisha did in Peloponnessus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees,<sup>5</sup> in the beginning of which it is said, that Alexander, the son of Phillip, the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cethim,<sup>6</sup> or Chittim, to make war against Darius, king of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, Phillip and Perseus,<sup>7</sup> the two last mentioned princes, are called kings of the Cetheans.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. x. 2.    <sup>2</sup> Dan. viii. 21.    <sup>3</sup> Hircus caprarum rex Græciæ: in the Hebrew, rex Javan.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. x. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Maccab. i. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Egrossus de terra Cethim.

<sup>7</sup> Philippum et Perseum, Cetheorum reges.—V. 5.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of the fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city of Dodona<sup>1</sup> itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodanim had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment from him.

This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the true origin of the Grecian nation. The holy Scripture, whose design is not to satisfy our curiosity, but to cherish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history, which therefore can only be collected from profane authors.

If we may believe Pliny, the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition.<sup>2</sup> Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is observable, that the word *Græcus* is not once used in Virgil.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that article. But a people so vain of their origin, as to adorn it with fiction and fable, we may be sure, would never think of inventing any thing to its disparagement. Who would imagine, that the people to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, and were ignorant even of agriculture?<sup>3</sup> And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to Pelasgus, who first taught them to feed upon acorns, as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long process of time.

The weakest were not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another, the number of which insensibly increasing, formed, in time, towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians, by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into their mysteries.<sup>4</sup>

Greece, in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; because as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded those lands of their neighbours, which they thought most fertile and delightful, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new

<sup>1</sup> Δωδώνη ἄνε Δωδώνη τῆ Διὸς καὶ Ἐπιρώνας.—Ste.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. l. viii. p. 455, 456.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. l. v. c. 53. et l. v. c. 58—60. Plin. l. v. c. 12, et l. vii. c. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iv. c. 7.

settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and therefore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of *αὐτόθους*, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nations, that had almost all transplanted themselves from place to place.<sup>1</sup>

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states, which constituted the whole country.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### THE DIFFERENT STATES INTO WHICH GREECE WAS DIVIDED.

IN those early times, kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

**SICYON.**<sup>2</sup> The most ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon, whose commencement is dated by Eusebius one thousand three hundred and thirteen years before the first Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been about a thousand years.

**ARGOS.**<sup>3</sup> The kingdom of Argos in Peloponnesus, began one thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king of it was **INACHUS**. His successors were, his son **PHORONEUS**, **APIS**, **ARGUS**, from whom the country took its name; and after several others **GLEANOR**, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by **DANAUS** the Egyptian.<sup>4</sup> The successors of this last were, first, **LYNCEUS**, the son of his brother **Ægyptus**, who alone, of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then **ABAS**, **PROETUS**, and **ACRISIUS**.

Of Danaë, daughter of the last, was born **Perseus**, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather **Acrisius**, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to **Mycenæ**, and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

**MYCENÆ.** **Perseus** then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to **Mycenæ**. He left several sons behind him; among others, **Alcæus**, **Sthenelus**, and **Electryon**. **Alcæus** was the father of **Amphitryon**, **Sthenelus** of **Eurystheus**, and **Electryon** of **Alcmena**. **Amphitryon** married **Alcmena**, upon whom **Jupiter** begat **Hercules**.

**Eurystheus** and **Hercules** came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was, by **Juno's** management, antecedent to that of the latter, **Hercules** was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged, by his order, to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fable.

The kings who reigned at **Mycenæ** after **Perseus**, were, **ELECTRYON**, **STHENELUS**, and **EURYSTHEUS**. The last, after the death of **Hercu-**

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. l. i. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1856. Euseb. in Chron.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2069.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474.

les, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him, which, as it happened, was done by the Heraclidæ; for having killed Eurystheus in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of the country. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt, which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

ATREUS, the son of Pelops, uncle by the mother's side to Eurystheus, succeeded the latter. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponnesus, which before was called Apia, derived its name. The bloody hatred of two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the son of Atreus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which left to his son AGAMEMNON, who was succeeded by his son Orestes. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISAMENES and PENTHILUS, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

ATHENS.<sup>1</sup> CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He also established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor CRANAUS, adjudged the famous dispute between Neptune and Mars. In this time, happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, being a thousand and twenty years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTYON, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the Assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of ERECTHEUS is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

The reign of ÆGEUS, the son of Pandion, is the most illustrious period of the history of the heroes.<sup>2</sup> In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

THESEUS succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the advantages of a common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city, or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2448. Ant. J. C. 1556.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284.



CODRUS was the last king of Athens; he devoted himself to death for his people.

After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians.<sup>1</sup> MEDON, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth with the title of archon, that is to say, president or governor. The first archons were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great resemblance to royal power, made their archons elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office.

THEBES.<sup>2</sup> Cadmus, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country which was afterwards called Bœotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmæa, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Œdipus their son, of Eteocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Œdipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA, or LAOEDÆMON. It is supposed that LELEX, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about one thousand five hundred and sixteen years before the Christian era.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had, by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena, and Clytemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of choosing a successor, by seeking a husband for his daughter Helena. All the pretenders to this princess bound themselves by oath to abide by, and entirely submit to the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans, which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength till the famous siege of that city, where Achilles, the Ajaxes, Nestor, and Ulysses, gave Asia sufficient reasons to forebode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a siege of ten years, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, according to Bishop Usher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 before Jesus Christ. This epoch is famous in history, and should be carefully remembered, as well as that of the Olympiads.

An Olympiad is the revolution of four complete years from one celebration of the Olympic games to another. We shall elsewhere give an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia.

The common era of the Olympiads begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, seven hundred and seventy-six years before Jesus Christ, from the games in which Chorebus won the prize in the foot-race.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3549. Ant. J. C. 1455.

Eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-entered the Peloponnesus, and seized Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus instituted that body of laws for the Spartan state, which rendered both the legislature and the republic so famous in history. I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

**CORINTH.**<sup>1</sup> Corinth began later than the other cities I have been speaking of to be governed by particular kings. It was at first subject to those of Argos and Mycenæ; at last Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about one hundred and ten years after the siege of Troy.

The regal power after this came to the descendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom they called Prytanis. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Periander, who was ranked among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

**MACEDONIA.**<sup>2</sup> It was a long time before the Greeks had any great regard to Macedonia. Her kings living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended that their kings, of whom **CARANUS** was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip and his son Alexander raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high degree. It had subsisted four hundred and seventy-one years before the death of Alexander, and continued one hundred and fifty-five more, till Perseus was beaten and taken by the Romans; in all six hundred and twenty-six years.

## ARTICLE V.

### COLONIES OF THE GREEKS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR.

WE have already observed that eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tisamenes and Penthilus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, among them.

So great a revolution as this almost changed the face of the country, and made way for several very famous transmigrations; which, the better to understand, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly; and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha, his wife, two sons, Helenus

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2628. Ant. J. C. 1376.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 813.

and Amphictyon. This last, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his stead. Helenus, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Helenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.<sup>1</sup>

Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and, besides Thesaly, had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions. Several of his descendants went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnassus fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some particular disgust, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponnesus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His descendants settled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave the country his name; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of the Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave the name to the country they possessed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, eighty years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Timenes, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus; the last dying, his two sons, Euristhenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as the motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient dominion. Argos fell to Timenes, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering, settled in that part of Asia Minor, which from them took the name of Æolis, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the town of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they sometime afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. viii. p. 383, &c. Pausan. l. vii. p. 396, &c.

Minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that were fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were defeated in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.<sup>1</sup>

One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus, another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in that part of Asia Minor, which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidos, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the island of Rhodes, Cos, &c.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE GRECIAN DIALECTS.

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number; the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation; but yet all derived from, and founded upon the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages is by no means wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic, but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy which the Athenians afterwards attained to. Hippocrates and Herodotus wrote in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans, and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracusans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

#### ARTICLE VI.

##### THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT ALMOST GENERALLY ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT GREECE.

The reader may have observed, in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all those

<sup>1</sup> Strab. p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 653.

different states was monarchical government, which was the most ancient of all forms, the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord, and which, as Plato observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion which fathers exercise over their families.<sup>1</sup>

But, as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, and severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions that happened in those states, a different spirit seized the people, which prevailed throughout Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government everywhere, except in Macedonia; so that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diversified into almost as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

There still, however, remained a kind of tincture or spirit of the ancient monarchical government, which frequently inflamed the ambition of private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every state of Greece, some private persons arose, who, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrust and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions; and to sacrifice to their own security all those whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and unsettled government, which found itself hated by all, and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these men so odious, and brought upon them the appellation of tyrants,<sup>2</sup> and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece that seemed so entirely different from one another, in their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body; whose strength increased to such a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to have preserved that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following volumes, a small nation confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, disputing

<sup>1</sup> Plut. l. iiii. de Leg. p. 680.

<sup>2</sup> This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

empire with the most powerful throne then upon the earth; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as glorious for the conquerors.

Among all the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest, by their merit and conduct; these two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the Lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

## ARTICLE VII.

### THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. LAWS ESTABLISHED BY LYCURGUS.

THERE is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and the discipline established in it by Lycurgus. This legislator was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta.<sup>1</sup> It would have been easy for Lycurgus to ascend the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and in effect he was king for some days. But as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared, that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one, and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the meantime, the widow sent to him secretly, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went out her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

The state was at this time in great disorder, the authority, both of the king and the laws, being absolutely despised and unregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased.<sup>2</sup>

Lycurgus was so courageous as to form the design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons he could meet with, in the art of government. He began

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 41.

with the island of Crete, whose rigid and austere laws were very famous; from thence he passed into Asia, where quite different customs prevailed: and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return; and the kings themselves importuned him to that purpose, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.<sup>1</sup>

But before he put this design in execution, he went to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo; where, after having offered his sacrifice, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him, "A friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man." And as for the favour he desired, of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him, the gods had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the first thing he did, was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; when he was assured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may properly be reduced to three principal institutions.

#### INSTITUTION I. — THE SENATE.

Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus, the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the kings, by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of the state.<sup>2</sup> For whereas before, it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight senators<sup>3</sup> of which it consisted siding with the king, when the people were grasping at too much power: and, on the other hand, espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty that composed the senate still too great and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they devised the authority of the Ephori,<sup>4</sup> about a hundred and thirty

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. p. 42.

This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

The word signifies comptroller or inspector.

years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people, and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus, whose wife reproached him, that he would leave to his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it to them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government, then, was not purely monarchial. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; so that, in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for above seven hundred years in the exact observance of her laws.

INSTITUTION II.—THE DIVISION OF THE LANDS, AND THE PROHIBITION OF GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.

THE second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The major part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, while a small number of particular persons were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country. In order, therefore, to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state still greater and more ancient than these, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminence or honours should be given, but to virtue and merit alone.<sup>1</sup>

This scheme, extraordinary as it may seem, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into nine thousand parts, which he distributed among an equal number of citizens. It is said that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along, the perfect equality of the reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said, smiling, "Does not Laconia look like the possession of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance among them?"

After having divided their immoveables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of inequality. But, perceiving that this would be more difficult if he went

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 44.



openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundations of avarice. For, first, he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minæ,<sup>1</sup> and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves, and disappeared with the gold and silver money; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities, and this iron money had no currency among any other Grecian states, who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

### INSTITUTION 3. — OF PUBLIC MEALS.

LYCURGUS, being desirous to make a yet more effectual war upon offeminacy and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables, he ordained that all the citizens should eat together, of the same common victuals which the law prescribed, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.<sup>2</sup>

By this settlement of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a condition of being desired or stolen, or of enriching their possessors; for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy this opulence, or even to make any show of it, since the poor and the rich eat together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet: because everybody present took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company was sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.<sup>3</sup>

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occasion that, in a tumult of the people, a young man named Alexander struck out one of the eyes of Lycurgus. The people, provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner; for, by the extraordinary kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed young man in a little time become very moderate and wise. The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each, where none could be admitted but with the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished, every month, a bushel of flour, eight measure of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money, for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be

<sup>1</sup> Five hundred French livres, about \$88,80.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lya. p. 45.

Τὸν εὐθεῖον δοῦλον μᾶλλον δὲ δέηλον, καὶ ἀπλοῦτον ἀπεργάζετο.—Plut.

at the common meal; and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children ate at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and spritely raillery, but never mixed with anything vulgar or shocking; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secrecy: as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, "Nothing spoken here must ever go out there."

The most exquisite of all their eatables was what they called their black broth, and the old men preferred it before all that was set upon the table.<sup>1</sup> Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of those meals, was not of the same opinion, and what was a ragout to them, was to him very insipid. I do not wonder, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting. What seasoning? replied the tyrant. Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirst; these are the ingredients, said the cook, with which we season all our food.

#### IV. OTHER ORDINANCES.

WHEN I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws: he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immoveable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity; and the youth that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.<sup>2</sup>

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and fancies, but would have the state intrusted with the general care of their education, in order to have them formed upon constant and uniform principles, which might inspire them betime with the love of their country and virtue.

As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him; and if they found him well made, strong and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the nine thousand por-

<sup>1</sup> Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 47.

tions of land for his inheritance.<sup>1</sup> If, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender, and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthful constitution, they condemned him to perish, and caused the infant to be exposed.<sup>2</sup>

Children were accustomed betimes not to be nice or difficult in their eating, not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themselves up to peevishness and ill-humour, to crying and bawling; to walk bare-foot, that they might be inured to fatigue; to lie hard at night; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.<sup>3</sup>

At the age of seven years they were put into the classes, where they were all brought up together under the same discipline.<sup>4</sup> Their education, properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience.<sup>5</sup> The legislature having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists, was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

While they were at table, it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions.<sup>6</sup> They would ask them, for example, Who is the most honest man in the town? What do you think of such or such an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both expressed in a few words: for they were accustomed betimes to the Laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short; a great deal of sense comprised in a few words.

As for literature, they only learned as much as was necessary.<sup>7</sup> All the sciences were banished out of their country; their study only tended to know how to obey, to bear hardship and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendent of their education was one of the most honourable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys, masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

There was one kind of theft only, and that too more a nominal than a real one, which the boys were allowed, and even ordered to practise.<sup>8</sup> They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat; and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told of one who, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot, rather than be dis-

<sup>1</sup> I do not comprehend how they could assign to every one of these children one of the nine thousand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same? Did it never exceed nine thousand? It is not said in this case, as in the division of the Holy Land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. de Lac. Rep. p. 667.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Lyc. p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ἦσσι τὴν καὶ δὲ εἰς εἰς μάλιστα ἐπιτεταται.*

<sup>6</sup> Plut. in Lyc. p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. in Lyc. p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, p. 50. Idem, Institut. Lacon. c. 387

covered. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorized by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislature in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with the greater boldness, cunning, and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already given an account of this matter more at large in another treatise.

The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival, celebrated in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia,<sup>1</sup> where the children, before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city, suffered themselves to be whipped till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or sigh: and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives on these cruel occasions. Hence it is, that Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *Patiens Lacedæmon*;<sup>3</sup> and another author makes a man, who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concoxi*.

The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and other bodily exercises. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, for which they paid them a certain revenue.<sup>4</sup>

Lycurgus would have his citizens enjoy a great deal of leisure: they had large common halls, where the people used to meet to converse together: and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pedareus having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, "he was overjoyed there were three hundred men in Sparta more honourable and worthy than himself."<sup>5</sup>

At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue, and the hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, public monuments, and inscriptions. It was hard for men brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily

<sup>1</sup> Man. d'Etud. Vol. III. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. n. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Ode. vii. lib. I.

<sup>4</sup> T. t. in Vit. Lyc. p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, p. 55.

create, in a little time, an aversion for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. On the other hand, he would suffer no strangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to some useful and profitable end, but out of mere curiosity; being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of the town against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war: every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exercise and employment: their life was much less hard and austere in the camp, than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment, because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline, which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty.<sup>1</sup> With them the first and most inviolable law of war, as Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their post; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer or to die on the spot.<sup>2</sup> This maxim was so important and essential in their opinion, that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; because they understood, that, in one of his poems, he had said. "It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expose himself to be killed."<sup>3</sup>

Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield;<sup>4</sup> and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, "I brought him into the world for no other end."<sup>5</sup> This humour was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action congratulated each other upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were dishonoured and disgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions; but it was thought scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage: and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers; and when that was done, they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and to make use of Plutarch's expression, "As if God were present with, and fought for them." *ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπαρόντος.*

When they had broken and routed their enemy's forces, they never

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. vii. cap. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Lacon. Institut. p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> Ἄλλη προαναβιδόσα το καὶ τὴν ἐπίδα, καὶ παρακλυμένη. Τίκου, (ἐφη) ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπι τας.—Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 241. Sometimes they that were slain were brought home upon their shields.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. l. i. Tuscl. Quæst. n. 102. Plut. in Vit. Ages. p. 612.

pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as honourable to the Spartans; for their enemies, knowing that all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those who fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.<sup>1</sup>

When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice, and the form of government he had established, seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as Plato says of God, that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony;<sup>2</sup> so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.<sup>3</sup>

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the meantime he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good, and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; and then thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphos, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His idea was, that even the death of great persons and statesmen should not be useless and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought that in dying thus he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observance of his institutions, which they had sworn to maintain inviolably till his return.

Although I represent the sentiments of Lycurgus upon his own death, in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them; and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wise men of the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect ideas; or, to speak more properly, remained in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle,

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe this philosopher had read what Moses says of God, when he created the world: "Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.—Gen. i. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 57.

which we meet with in many of their writings, that man, placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times, they looked upon man as a criminal condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence, indeed, he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate; and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his prison.<sup>1</sup> These ideas are beautiful, because they are true; but the application they made of them was wrong, namely, as they took that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to commit suicide, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains or troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND UPON THE  
LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

I. THINGS COMMENDABLE IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

THERE must needs have been, to judge only by the event, a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; since, as long as they were observed in Sparta, which was above five hundred years, it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much, says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta, the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue: or rather, continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's skin and club, went from country to country to free the world of robbers and tyrants; so Sparta, with a slip of parchment<sup>2</sup> and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion; suppressed tyrannies and unjust authority in cities; put an end to wars as she thought fit, and appeased insurrection; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador among them, who no sooner appeared, than all the people submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their queen: so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

<sup>1</sup> Vetat Pythagoras, injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere.—Cic. de Senect. n. 73.

Cato sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille, in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis; ne ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens, lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant: sed, tanquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a Deo evocatus atque emissus, exierit.—Id. i. Tusc. Quæst. n. 74.

<sup>2</sup> This was what the Spartans called a scytale, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner, that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They wrote upon this thong, and when they had written they untwisted it, and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and written upon, wrapt it round that staff in the same manner, and, by that means, found out the connexion and the right placing of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read.—Plut. in Vit. Lye. p. 444.

## 1. THE NATURE OF THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.

WE find at the end of Lycurgus's life a single reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus, with this difference, that they confined themselves wholly to words and theory; but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and theoretical systems, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together what he found best in every kind of government, or most conducive to the public good; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchial form of government in the authority of her kings. The council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power vested in the people of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The institution of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those previous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires the wisdom of Lycurgus in his institution of the senate, which was equally advantageous both to the king and people; because by this means the law became the only supreme ruler of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. EQUAL DIVISION OF THE LANDS — GOLD AND SILVER BANISHED FROM SPARTA.

THE design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, law-suits, and dissensions, by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a scheme of a commonwealth finely conceived for speculation, but utterly incapable of execution, did not history assure us that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable parts of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarcely be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city to resign all their revenues and estates, in order to level and confound themselves with the poorest of

<sup>1</sup> Νόμος δικαίῃ κέρως ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἔκ ἀνθρώποι τέραννοι νόμων.—Plat. Epist. vii.



the people; to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of everything, wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Agesilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, observed that Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and laws for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate. *Soli*, said the latter, speaking of the Lacedæmonians, *totò orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt*.<sup>1</sup> I believe that though in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished; yet, however, all historians agree that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruits of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institutions of the legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded, and made way for avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominion. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to curb and restrain the ambition of the citizens; to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any farther.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the government which he established was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for elevating her to a dominion over other cities.

The design, then, of Lycurgus was not to make the Spartans conquerors.<sup>3</sup> To remove such thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbade them, though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle in maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep that formidable enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived that these maritime, remote commands corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances, it

<sup>1</sup> Pro. Flac. num. lxiil.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Moribus Laced. 1. 239.

was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers; but it was only that under the shadow of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded that no city or state, any more than a single person, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness but from virtue only.<sup>1</sup> Men of a depraved taste, says Plutarch farther, on the same subject, who think nothing so desirable as riches, and a large extent of dominion, may give preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no farther views than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his Lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauties consist, are of infinite use towards the giving us true ideas of things, and making us understand wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state that is really happy; as also to correct those false ideas we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

### 3. THE EXCELLENT EDUCATION OF THEIR YOUTH.

THE long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made use of to succeed therein, are no less worthy of admiration. The principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline: for, as Plutarch observes, the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them suck in, almost with their mother's milk, an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above five hundred years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people like a strong and good die, that penetrates thoroughly.<sup>3</sup> Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition, as to their excellent education: *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum natura corroborata, verum etiam disciplina putatur.*<sup>4</sup> All this shows of what importance it is to a state, to take care that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Aristotle repeats in express terms, was that as children belong to the state, their education ought

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, et in Vit. Agesil. p. 614.

ἄνευ βαφῆς ἀπράτοι καὶ ἰσχυρῶς καταδραμένους.—Plut. Ep. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Orat. pro Flac. n. 68.

to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only considered therein.<sup>1</sup> It was for this reason he desired they should be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue, by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and, what it is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to promote their health, and make their constitutions the more vigorous and robust, able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war, for which they were all designed from their cradles.

#### 4. OBEDIENCE.

BUT the most excellent thing in the Spartan education, was its teaching young people so perfectly how to obey. It was from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a magnificent epithet, which denotes, that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them tractable and submissive to laws, as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and managed while they are young.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command and how to obey.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5. RESPECT TOWARDS THE AGED.

ONE of the lessons most frequently and strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to bear a great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting them, by making way for them, and by giving them place in the streets, by rising up to show them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission.<sup>4</sup> By these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he went; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into a theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and the gentlemen of their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them. Lysander, therefore, had reason to say, that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta; and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. viii. Politic.

<sup>2</sup> Δαμασιθέροτος, that is to say, Tamer of men.

<sup>3</sup> Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τῷ καλλίστῳ, ἀρχίβαι καὶ ἀρχεῦν.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Lacon. Institut. p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> Lysandrum Lacedæmonium dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedæmons esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis.—Cic. de Sen. n. 63. \* Ἐν Δακδοσίῳσι καλλίστη γῆρῶσι.—Plut. in Mor. p. 795.

## II. DEFECTS IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

IN order to perceive the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we have only to compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into an exact examination of the particulars, wherein the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, are faulty; I shall content myself with making some slight reflections only, which probably may have already occurred to the reader in the perusal of those ordinances, among which there are some with which he will have been justly offended.

## 1. THE CHOICE OF THE CHILDREN THAT WERE EITHER TO BE BROUGHT UP OR EXPOSED.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish; who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be born with a constitution that appeared too weak to undergo the fatigues and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robust and vigorous constitution? Or, suppose it was so, can a man no way serve his country but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? *Omnino illud honestum quod ex animo excelso magnificoquæ quærimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.*<sup>1</sup> Did Lycurgus himself render less service, or do less honour to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean a figure, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, small as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But, what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power, over the lives of men, than he from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renovation of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, universally condemns all those among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

## 2. THEIR CARE CONFINED ONLY TO THE BODY.

THE great defect in the laws of Lycurgus, as Plato and Aristotle have observed, is, that they only tended to form a warlike and martial people. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon, was the means of strengthening the bodies of the people without any regard

<sup>1</sup> Cicero. l. i. de Offic. n. 79. Idem, n. 76.

to the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other advantages, have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary intercourse of life agreeable?<sup>1</sup> Hence, it came to pass, that there was a degree of roughness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity; a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

### 3. THEIR BARBAROUS CRUELTY TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN.

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by many severe and laborious exercises to bring the body into subjection to reason, whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all her orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues.<sup>2</sup> But was it rational in them to carry their severities so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers, to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern?

### 4. THE MOTHERS' INHUMANITY.

SOME people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part, I should think it much better, that nature should show herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his son was killed, seemed by his answer to be much wiser. "Let us at present think," said he, "only of beating the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my son."

### 5. THEIR EXCESSIVE LEISURE.

NOR can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending so much of their time in idleness and inaction, and following no other business than that of war. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves, and strangers that lived among them; and put nothing into the hands of the citizens, but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to such a degree as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditions

<sup>1</sup> Omnes artes quibus setas puerillis ad humanitatem informari solet.—Cic. Orat. pro Arch.

<sup>2</sup> Exercendum corpus, et ita afficiendum est, ut obedire consilio rationisque possit in sequendis negotis et labore tolerando.—Lib. i. de Offic. n. 79.

and riots among them; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour? This is an inconvenience still but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their faulty education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in the most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and derogatory to their gentility. They seldom know how to handle anything but their swords. As for the sciences, they barely acquire just so much as they cannot well be without; and many have not the least knowledge of them, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder, then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits, and frivolous discourse, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts or understanding!

#### 6. THEIR CRUELTY TOWARDS THE HELOTS.

LYCURGUS would be utterly inexcusable, if he gave occasion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in this republic. These Helots were the slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but also to treat them with the utmost barbarity, as thinking themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by Thucydides, two thousand of these slaves disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch pretends, that this barbarous custom was not practised till after the time of Lycurgus, and that he had no hand in it.

#### 7. MODESTY AND DECENCY ENTIRELY NEGLECTED.

BUT the points wherein Lycurgus appears to be most culpable, and which best shows the great enormities and gross darkness in which the Pagans were plunged, is the little regard he showed for modesty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When we compare these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts, what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion!

Nor will it give us a less advantageous idea of this pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of the institutions of Lycurgus with the laws of the gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful thing, that the whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. lib. iv.

these laws, had the sword in his hand; whereas the Christian legislator says but a word, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and thousands of the faithful through all succeeding generations renounce their goods, sell their lands and estates, and leave all, to follow Jesus Christ, their Master, in poverty and want.

### ARTICLE VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. THE LAWS OF SOLON. THE HISTORY OF THAT REPUBLIC, FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST.

I HAVE already observed, that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they were such as had little more than the name; for their whole power being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to death for the public good, his sons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the succession.<sup>1</sup> The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommode them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens, at the very same time that the Jews were weary of their theocracy, that is, having the true God for their king, and would absolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he enumerated the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of *people* to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still, in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one: and this they did with a view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independence, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that seemed to break in upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. Hence arose continual factions and quarrels: there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions she had to struggle with.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned at length, that true liberty consists in a dependence upon justice and reason. This happy subjec-

<sup>1</sup> Codrus was cotemporary with Saul.

tion could not be established, but by a legislator. She therefore placed her choice upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and integrity, for that employment. It does not appear that Greece had, before his time any written laws.<sup>1</sup> The first of that kind, then, were of his publishing; the rigour of which, anticipating as it were the Stoical doctrine, was so great, that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written, says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the same fate as usually attends all violent things. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people, all concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws, which, by that means, in process of time, became as it were abrogated through disuse; and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders, made them have recourse to fresh precautions; for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order, therefore, to find out mitigations, which might make amends, for what they took away from the letter of the law, they cast their eyes upon one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean Solon, whose singular qualities, and especially his great meekness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.<sup>2</sup>

His main application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call policy, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit placed him among the first of the seven sages of Greece, who rendered the age we are speaking of so illustrious. These sages often paid visits to each other. One day, that Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said to Thales was, that he wondered why he had never desired to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then; but a few days after he contrived, that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he had just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon hearing the stranger say this, asked him, if there was any news at Athens when he came away. The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whom all the town accompanied to the grave; because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent. Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! But pray, what is the gentleman's name? I heard his name replied the stranger, but I have forgot it. I only remember that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice. Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to this inquisitive father, who was so justly alarmed. Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon? The very same, replied the stranger. Solon at these words rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 624.<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604.



the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand and said to him with a smile, comfort yourself, my friend, all that has been told you is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married: it is because I am unwilling to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch has given us in detail, a refutation of Thale's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy; but, upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

Athens, after some time of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains were fond of popular government; those in the low-lands were for an oligarchy; and those who dwelt on the sea-coasts, were for having a mixed government, compounded of these two forms blended together; and they hindered the other two contending parties, from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party, which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.<sup>2</sup>

In this extreme danger, all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they strongly solicited him to take the matter in hand, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission: however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator with the unanimous consent of all parties; the rich liking him as he was rich; and the poor because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favourable change, consistent with the laws, were not unwilling that the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an

<sup>1</sup> Plat. de Vit. Lycurg. p. 51, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. in Solon, p. 85, 86.

effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and would harken to no other scheme than that of settling a form of government in his country, that should be founded upon the basis of a just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils, which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes, than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with by argument and reason, or bring them into by the weight of his authority; wisely uniting, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians were the best: "Yes," said he, "the best they were capable of receiving."

The soul of popular states is equality. But for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon did not venture to propose any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would have resembled a paternal inheritance, divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

This affair drew Solon into a troublesome difficulty, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts he foresaw that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenor of it, by introducing it with a specious preamble, which set forth a great many very plausible pretexts, and gave a colour of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed great sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in the purchase of lands, knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When this appeared, the general indignation that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in reality he had no hand in it.<sup>1</sup> But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him ought to be so too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account; all the wrongs, all the rapines, that are committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him; because it is his business, and one of the principal designs of his being put into such a trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties; it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected,

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's influence at Athens fell very short of the power which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards, this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before, were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws, that had been made by Draco, except those against murder. The reason of his doing this, was the excessive rigour of these laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders; so that they who were convicted of sloth or idleness, or they who had only stolen a few herbs, or a little fruit out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed all the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those who were found to have five hundred measures a year, as well in corn as in liquida, were placed in the first class; those who had three hundred were placed in the second; and those who had but two hundred made up the third.

All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments.<sup>1</sup> But, in order to make them amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgments of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them masters of all the affairs of the city; for most of the lawsuits and differences returned to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magistrates; and in the assemblies of the people, the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

The Areopagus,<sup>2</sup> so called from the place where its assemblies were held, had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendency over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws, of which he was the guardian, to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and justice were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first who thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of archon. Nothing was so august as this senate; and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plat. in Solon, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, the hill of Mars: because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune.

<sup>3</sup> Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Lucian. in Hermet. p. 595. Quintil. l. vi. c. 1.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here but truth, and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent, as much as possible, the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the general assembly of the people; to whose judgment the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonging the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject Anacharsis, whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the middle of Scythia, said one day to Solon, "I wonder you should empower the wise men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools."

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis, astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and injustice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner: "give me leave to tell you, that your writings are just like spiders' webs; the weak and the small flies may be entangled and caught in them, but the rich and powerful will break through them and despise them."

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniences that attend a democracy or popular government; but having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people's hands; and that, if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another, by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus, and the council of four hundred; judging that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would be kept within due bounds, and enjoy more tranquility.

I shall only mention some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. In the first place, every particular person was authorized to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted; so that the first comer might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.<sup>1</sup>

The design of this wise legislator in this ordinance, was to accustom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling for one another's sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

By another law, those persons who, in public differences and dissensions, did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

see how things would go before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have their estates confiscated.<sup>1</sup> Solon had learned from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually the most backward to expose themselves to the inconveniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in society; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so active and vigilant in the defence of it, as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the just party, being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to contend with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well-affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare for the just party at the very beginning of seditions, and to animate the spirits and courage of the best citizens, by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, who should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters, and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes and some few household goods of little value; for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of interest, but desired that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.<sup>1</sup>

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring, by that means, friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where he pleased. This law, however, did not authorize indifferently all sorts of donations; it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely, and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated with drinks or charms, or perverted and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman; for this wise lawgiver was justly persuaded that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understanding.

Another regulation he made was, to lessen the rewards of the victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games, and to fix them at a certain value,

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

Ibid, p. 89.

viz: a hundred drachms, which make about fifty livres, for the first sort;<sup>1</sup> and five hundred drachms, or two hundred and fifty livres, for the second.<sup>2</sup> He thought it a shameful thing that athletæ and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted to them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country; it being very just and reasonable that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.<sup>3</sup>

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to get his livelihood; and of chastising and punishing all those who led an idle life. Besides the fore-mentioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons, still more important.

In the first place, Solon considered that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to get their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the necessity of subsisting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanours, rapines, knaveries, and frauds; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth; and such an evil gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in the revolutions of the state, by which alone they can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons that, in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation; all children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty; for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever thus contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having satisfied his own desires, the end he proposed to himself, he has no proper right over the persons who may spring from him, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed indelible infamy and reproach.

It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead; because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare those that are no more, and good policy should prevent hatreds from becoming immortal.<sup>4</sup>

It was also forbidden to affront or give ill language to anybody in the temples and courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the

<sup>1</sup> \$9.<sup>2</sup> \$45.<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Solon, p. 91. Diog. Laert. in Solon, p. 37.<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Solon, p. 89.

theatres during the time of representation ; for to be nowhere able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition ; as to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the mere force of human nature, a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide ; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered, "that to make laws against, and ordain punishments for, a crime that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it."<sup>1</sup> I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles or rules to go by.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for the term of a hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom ; as also to rid himself of the trouble and importunity of those who came to consult him about the sense and meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and odium of others ; for, as he said himself, in great undertakings, it is difficult, if not impossible, to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journey into Egypt, into Lydia, to visit king Croesus, and into several other countries. At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble ; the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties : Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low-lands ; Megacles, son of Alcmeon, was the leader of the inhabitants on the sea coast ; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the manufacturers and labourers who lived by their industry, and whose animosity was chiefly against the rich ; of these three leaders, the two last were the most powerful and considerable.<sup>2</sup>

Megacles was the son of Alcmeon, whom Croesus had extremely enriched for a particular service he had done him. He had likewise married a lady who had brought him an immense portion ; her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was at this time the richest and most opulent prince in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character, from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house ; for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and there came from different parts to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of questions and subjects. One of

<sup>1</sup> Sapientur fecisse dicitur, cum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat ; ne, non tam prohibere, quam admonere, videretur.—Pro. Ros. Amer. n. 79.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3446. Ant. J. C. 559. Plut. in Solon, p. 94.

the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by using some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Olisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away, loaded with civilities and presents.<sup>1</sup>

Pisistratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the poor;<sup>2</sup> wise and moderate towards his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler; and one who had all the exterior of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against innovations and change.<sup>3</sup>

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people, with all his artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences; however, he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods, to bring him back to his duty.

It was at this time Thespis began to change the Grecian tragedy;<sup>4</sup> I say change, because it was invented long before.<sup>5</sup> This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Thespis, and asked him, "Why he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so many people?" Thespis made answer, "that there was no harm in lies of that sort, and in poetical fictions, which were only made for diversion." "No," replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground; "but if we suffer and approve of lying for our diversion, it will quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all our business and affairs."

In the meantime, Pisistratus still pushed on his point; and in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as well as he could expect.<sup>6</sup>

He gave himself several wounds; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he raised and inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his enemies had treated him in that manner, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.<sup>7</sup>

An assembly of the people was immediately convened, and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. vi. c. 125—131.

<sup>2</sup> We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms; for in those times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen who died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging.—Orat. Arcop. p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Plat. in Solon, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis; but it was only a chorus of persons that sung, and said opprobrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus, by the addition of a personage or character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person. And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 59—64.

<sup>7</sup> Plat. in Solon, p. 95, 96



All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution, "It is," said he, "my old age." He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near; though it often happens that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought his conquest imperfect till he had gained Solon; and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to engage an old man, he caressed him accordingly; omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon him, and showed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for the laws, which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon, seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation, or to depose him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him; and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity which he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country quite two years: for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens under the archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad, and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, whose leaders were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens; where he was soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference that arose upon occasion of this match having embroiled them afresh, the Alcæonidæ had the worst of it; and were obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his eloquence, which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of discourse, as it made them forget the care of their liberty.<sup>1</sup> An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers; and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason the character of Pisistratus was thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, "We do not yet know whether the destiny of Rome will make us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Pisistratus."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pisistratus dicendo tantum valuisse dicitur, ut ei Atheniensis regium imperium oratione capti permitterent.—Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

Quis doctior liedem temporibus, aut cuius eloquentia literis instructor fuisse traditur, quam Pisistratus?—Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Incertum est Phalaris' name, an Pisistratum, sit imitaturus.—Ad. Attic. l. vii. Ep. xix.

This tyrant, if indeed we are to call him so, always showed himself very popular and moderate, and had such a command of his temper, as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word.<sup>1</sup> His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens, in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. It is said he was the first who opened a public library in Athens,<sup>2</sup> which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, when he took that city.<sup>3</sup> But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, restored it to Athens. Cicero thinks also it was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who arranged the books in the order we now find them, whereas before they were confused, and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at their feasts, called Panathenea.<sup>4</sup> Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.<sup>5</sup>

Pisistratus died in tranquillity, and transmitted to his sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.<sup>6</sup>

His sons were Hippias and Hipparchus.<sup>7</sup> Thucydides adds a third whom he calls Thessalus. They seemed to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus what we have said concerning the poems of Homer, adds that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him.<sup>8</sup> He likewise entertained at his house Simonides, another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love of virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, statues of stones, called Mercuries, with grave sentences carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose, that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. But Thucydides shows, that Pippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.<sup>9</sup>

Be this as it may, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years duration, and ended in the following manner.

Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship. Hipparchus, angry with the former for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, sought to revenge himself by a public affront to his sister, in obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and still more his friend,

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. l. xii. p. 532.

<sup>3</sup> Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 137.

<sup>5</sup> In Hipparch. p. 228.

<sup>6</sup> Arist. lib. de Rep. c. 12.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. 3478. Ant. J. C. 526.

<sup>8</sup> In Hip. p. 228, 229.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. l. vi. p. 225.

being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, formed, from that moment, a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the Panatheneæ, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen, and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they only admitted a very small number of the citizens into their secret; conceiving that, upon the first motion, all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the Ceramicum, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends followed him thither, and coming near him, they saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where, meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain, and Hippias found means to dispel the storm.<sup>1</sup>

After this affair he regarded no measures, and reigned like a true tyrant, putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, and to secure a safe retreat in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and, to that end, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

In the mean time, the Alcæonidæ, who, from the beginning of the revolution, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not, however, lose courage, but turned their views another way.<sup>2</sup> As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, who were the heads of the grand, or general council of Greece, superintendents for rebuilding the temple of Delphos, for the sum of three hundred talents, or nine hundred thousand livres.<sup>3</sup> As they were naturally very generous, and besides had their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole front of the temple of Parian marble, at their private expense; whereas, by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

The liberality of the Alcæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphos a pure effect of religion. Policy was the chief motive. They hoped, by this means, to acquire great credit and influence in the temple, which happened according to their expectation. The money which they had plentifully poured into the hands of the priestess, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who, for the future, becoming their echo, faithfully

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. v. c. 62—66.

<sup>3</sup> About \$177,777.

repeated the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often, therefore, as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his own affairs, or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratidæ, though they were under the strongest engagements of friendship and hospitality with them; herein preferring the will of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrants were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding, a short time after, they made a second, which seemed to promise no better an issue than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated, that he should depart out of Attica in five days time. Accordingly, he actually retired within the time limited, and settled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.<sup>2</sup>

Pliny observes, that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled from Rome.<sup>3</sup> Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that had never been rendered to any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood. Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes before had carried thither from Athens.<sup>4</sup> This city at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude solely to the authors of her liberty; but extended it even to a woman, who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtesan, named Leona, who, by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ γὰρ τὸ θεὸν προσβόρως ἐκείνοιο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, a. 8.

all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; gloriously showing to the world, that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost: and to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtesan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumstance, by representing her in the statue, which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch, in the life of Aristides, relates a thing which does great honour to the Athenians, and which shows to what a length they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her, upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and marrying her to one of the richest and most considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in laud in the town of Potamos for her portion.<sup>2</sup>

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her courage. During the reigns of her tyrants she had acted with indolence and indifference, knowing that what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of quite a different kind, because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcæmonids, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest influence and power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, finding himself inferior to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with seven hundred families of his adherents. But they soon returned, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting also, that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippias, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, to which place he had retired. They then communicated their design to the deputies of their allies, whose resistance and concurrence they proposed to use, in order to render their enterprise more successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment, that the Lacedæmonians, who were themselves

<sup>1</sup> Plin. l. vii. c. 28. et l. xxxiv. c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Page 384.

avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere; describing at the same time, in a lively manner, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, which his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing; and had no other effect, than to discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated in his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured, by every method, to engage in a war against Athens; representing to him, that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians, that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer than a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the following volumes.

## ARTICLE IX.

### ILLUSTRIOUS MEN, WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I BEGIN with the poets, because the most ancient.

Homer, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece, that contend for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title.

Herodotus tells us, that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time, that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy; for Herodotus flourished seven hundred and forty years after that expedition.<sup>1</sup>

Some authors have pretended, that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. "If any man," says he, "believes that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and even have lost all his senses."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, according to the observation of Cicero, Homer's works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader; and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords, into his writings, and to make them, in a manner, pass in review before his readers.<sup>3</sup>

What is most astonishing in this poet is, that having applied himself the first, at least of those that are known, to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should, however, soar

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. c. 53. A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844.

<sup>2</sup> Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est.—Paterc. l. i. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Tasc. Quæst. l. v. n. 114.

so high, and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.<sup>1</sup>

The kind of poetry we are speaking of, is the epic poem, so called from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this poem must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the Iliad and the Odyssey: the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilion or Troy; and that of the second is, the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and a fit model for the formation of others: *Fons ingeniorum Homerus*.<sup>2</sup>

The greatest men, and the most exalted geniuses, that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years, in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those, whose writings we are forced still to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these, says Madame Dacier, acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the model after which all succeeding poets should form their taste and judgment.<sup>3</sup> After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they ever so great, as reasonably to presume, that his decisions should prevail against such a universal concurrence of judgment in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so constant, and so universal, entirely justify the favourable judgment of Alexander the Great, of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of human wit; *pretiosissimum humani animi opus*.<sup>4</sup>

Quintilian, after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem lætus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis*. In great things, what a sublimity of expression! and in little, what a justness and propriety! diffusive and concise,

<sup>1</sup> Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum: qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum solus appellari Poëta meruit. In quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur; neque postillum, qui imitari eum possit, inventus est, neque quemquam alium, cujus operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum, præter Homerum et Archilochum reperimus.—Vell. Patere. l. i. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> In Homer's Life, which is prefixed to her translation of the Iliad.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. l. xvii. c. 29.

pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.<sup>1</sup>

HESIOD. The most common opinion is, that he was cotemporary with Homer. It is said, that he was born at Cumæ, a town in Æolia, but that he was brought up at Ascra, a little town in Bœotia, which has since passed for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Ascra.<sup>2</sup> We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems of his, all in hexameter verse; which are, 1st, "The Works and Days;" 2dly, "The Theogony;" or, the Genealogy of the gods; 3dly, "The Shield of Hercules;" which, by some, is doubted to have been written by Hesiod.

1. In the first of these poems, entitled "The Works and Days," Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a prudent observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short but lively description of two sorts of disputes; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords and wars; and the other, infinitely useful and beneficial to man, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then gives an admirable description of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age. The persons who lived in the golden age, are those whom Jupiter, after their death, turned into so many Genii<sup>3</sup> or spirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commission to go up and down the earth, invisible to men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his Georgics, as he himself acknowledges in this verse:

Ascæumque oano Romana per oppida carmen.<sup>4</sup>  
"And sing the Ascæan verse to Roman swains."

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of wealth and plenty. It is much to be deplored, that, in after ages, men departed from a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence and good manners. Avarice and luxury have entirely banished it from the world. *Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantum artes coluntur.*<sup>5</sup>

2. "The Theogony" of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose, that these poets were inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected, and transmitted to posterity, the doctrines of the religion which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. "The Shield of Hercules" is a separate fragment of a poem,

<sup>1</sup> Quint. l. x. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Eclog. l. vi. v. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Αἰσῆρις.*

<sup>4</sup> Geor. l. ii. v. 176.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. in Prom. l. xiv.



wherein, it is pretended, Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity; and it bears that title, because it contains, among other things, a long description of the shield of Hercules, concerning whom the same person relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*<sup>1</sup>

ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the iambic verse, lived in the time of Candaules, king of Lydia.<sup>2</sup> He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry, which he invented, to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The iambic verse, such as was invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for the vehement and energetic style; accordingly we see, that Horace, speaking of this poet, says, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his iambs, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance.

*Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.*<sup>3</sup>

And Quintilian says, he had an uncommon force of expression; was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are short, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous.<sup>4</sup> The longest of his poems were said to be the best.<sup>5</sup> The same judgment has been universally passed upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of the letters of his friend Atticus.

The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious; witness those he wrote against Lycambes, his father-in-law, which drove him to despair.<sup>6</sup> For these two reasons, his poetry, however excellent it was esteemed in other respects, was discountenanced in Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and manners of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding.<sup>7</sup> We have only some short fragments that remain of this poet. Such delicacy in a heathen people, in regard to the quality of the books which they thought young people should be permitted to read, is highly worthy of our notice, and justly reproaches many Christians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Ephesus, and signalized his wit some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of poetry, and with the same

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 2280. Ant. J. C. 724.

<sup>3</sup> Art. Poet. v. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validæ tum breves vibrantesque sententiæ, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum.—Quint. l. x. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistola longissima quæque optima videtur.—Cla. Epist. xi. l. 16. ad Atticum.

<sup>6</sup> Hor. Epod. Od. vi. et Epist. xix. l. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari jussurunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbuti, ne plus moribus noceeret, quam ingenii prodesset. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invidiam obscenitatis maledictis lacervaverat, carminum exilio mulctarunt.—Vell. Pat. l. vi. c. 3.

force and vehemence. He was ugly, little, lean, and slender.<sup>1</sup> Two celebrated sculptors and brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, (some call the latter Anthermus,) diverted themselves at his expense, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire, that they hanged themselves out of mortification: others say, they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this! Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous.<sup>2</sup> In the Anthologia there are three or four epigrams, which describe Hipponax as terrible, even after death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours: *φεῦγε τὸν χαλαζοῦ τῆς τάφου, εἰς φεγγῆν.* *Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*<sup>3</sup>

It is thought he invented the Scæzon verse, in which the spondee is used instead of the iambus, in the sixth foot of the verse which bears that name.

**STESICHORUS.** He was of Himera, a town in Sicily, and excelled in lyric poetry, as did those other poets we are about to mention. Lyric poetry is that, in which the verses, arranged into odes and stanzas, were sung to the Lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished between the 37th and 47th Olympiad. Pausanias, after many other fables, relates, that Stesichorus, having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helena, did not recover it till he had retracted his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first; which latter kind of ode is since called palinodia.<sup>4</sup> Quintilian says, that he sung of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.<sup>5</sup>

**ALCÆMAN.** He was of Lacedæmon, or, according to some, of Sardis in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

**ALCÆUS.** He was born at Mitylene in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he perpetually inveighed in his verses. It is said of him, that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms and ran away.<sup>6</sup> Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself.<sup>7</sup> Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. Quintilian says, that the style of Alcæus was

<sup>1</sup> Hipponacti notabilis vultus fœditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus lascivia jocorum si proposuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eoe impulsisse: quod falsum est.—Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> ————In malos asperrimus

Parata tollo comua.

Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener,

Aut acer hostis Bupalu.—Epod. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Anthol. l. iil.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. in Lacon. p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos cadentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem.—Lib. x. c. 1

<sup>6</sup> Herod. l. v. c. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam

Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.—Hor. Od. vii. l. 2.

close, magnificent, and accurate; and to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.<sup>1</sup>

**SIMONIDES.** This poet was of the island of Ceos, in the Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He excelled principally in funeral elegy.<sup>2</sup> The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> At twenty-four years of age, he contended for and carried the prize of poetry.

The answer he gave to Hiero, king of Syracuse, who asked him what God was, is much celebrated. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king, surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it. It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: *Quia quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.*<sup>4</sup> The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty which no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.<sup>5</sup>

After having travelled to many cities of Asia, and amassed considerable wealth, by celebrating in his verses the praises of those who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what he could. Simonides took no care of any thing; and when he was asked the reason for it, he replied, "I carry all I have about me;" *Necum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned by the weight of the things they attempted to save, and those who got to shore were robbed by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomenæ, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of their citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was excessively pleased, and thought it an honour to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessaries, whilst the rest were obliged to beg through the city: The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them, in regard to his effects: *Dixi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta; vos quod rapuistis, perit.*<sup>6</sup>

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price of them. In Aristotle we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the

<sup>1</sup> In eloquendo brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero similis.

<sup>2</sup> Sed me relictis, Musa procox, jocis  
Cæse retractes munera nœniam.—Horat.  
Mœstius lacrymis Simonideis.—Catull.

<sup>3</sup> Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Certe hoc est Deus, quod et cum dicitur, non potest dici: cum æstimatur, non potest æstimari; cum comparatur, non potest comparari; cum definitur, ipsa definitione crescit.—S. Aug. serm. de temp. cix.

<sup>6</sup> Nobis ad intellectum pectus angustum est. Et ideo sic eum (Deum) digne æstimamus, dum inæstimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nâsse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit.—Minut. Felix.

<sup>7</sup> Phædr. l. iv.

chariot races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet, not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended, that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule, and the poem was written. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty.

Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and a horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them at first only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them "illustrious foals of rapid steeds:" *Χαίρει δ' ἀλλοπόδων δὴ γατρὸς ἰκίων.*<sup>1</sup>

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining; which are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a farther proof of her merits, she was called the tenth muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It is to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius, and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72nd Olympiad. Anacreon spent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that happy tyrant of Samos; and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council.<sup>2</sup> Plato tells us, that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars for Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be esteemed and relished as they deserved.<sup>3</sup> It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems; nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIS. He was the first inventor of tragedy. I defer speaking of him till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

#### OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF GREECE.

THESE men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in the present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, the Milesian. If Cicero is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men.<sup>4</sup> It was he that laid the first foundations of philosophy in Greece, and gave rise to the sect called

<sup>1</sup> Rhet. l. iii. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 121.

<sup>3</sup> In Hipparch. p. 228, 229.

<sup>4</sup> Princeps Thales, unus e septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse primas fortun.—Lib. iv. Acad. Quest. n. 118.

the Ionic sect; because he, the founder of it, was born in the country of Ionia.

He held water to be the first principle of all things; and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were formed from water.<sup>1</sup> The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, seeing the Nile to be the cause of the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy; he had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, which has been already mentioned.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the size of the sun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had discovered that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th part of the sun's body. This computation is very far from being true, as the sun's solidity exceeds not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know, that in all these matters, and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

When Thales travelled into Egypt, he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by observing the time when the shadow of a body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.<sup>2</sup>

To show that philosophers were not so destitute, as some people imagined, of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business; and that they would be as successful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves that way, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletus, before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature, had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in effect, and he made a considerable profit by his bargain.<sup>3</sup>

He used to thank the gods for three things; that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her it was then too soon: and after several years were elapsed, he told her it was then too late.

As he was once walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch. Ha! says a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the first year of the 58th Olympiad; consequently he lived to be above ninety years of age.<sup>4</sup>

**SOLON.** His life has been already related at length.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3457. Ant. J. C. 547.

**CHILO.** He was a Lacedæmonian; very little is related of him. Æsop asked him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? "In humbling those," said he, "that exalt themselves, and exalting those that abase themselves."

He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son gain the prize of boxing, at the Olympic games. He said when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life; an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher; unless it was once, by having made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

**PITTACUS.** He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he expelled from that island the tyrants who had usurped the government.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him, which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against him. The poet afterwards fell into the hands of Pittacus, who was so far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and showed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority, and retired. He used to say, that the proof of a good government was, to engage the subjects, not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid *for* him.<sup>1</sup> It was a maxim with him, that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

**BIAS.** We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattes, king of Lydia, by stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. This city was hard pressed with famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and the people. Bias, surmising their errand, ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king of the great plenty of provision they had seen in the city, he

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ τὸς ἐπιτέλεις ἑ ἀρχῶν παρασκευάσεις φοβέσθαι μὴ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἑπὶ αὐτῷ.—Plut. in Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 152.

hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty and raised the siege. One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.<sup>1</sup>

**CLEOBULUS.** We know as little of this wise man, as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes, or according to some, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

**PERIANDER.** He was numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he wrote to Thraasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, to know what measures he should take with his newly acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where, in walking along, he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most eminent of the Corinthian citizens. But if we may believe Plutarch, Periander did not approve so cruel an advice.<sup>2</sup>

He wrote circular letters to all the wise men, inviting them to pass sometime with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Croesus.<sup>3</sup> Princes, in those days, thought themselves highly honoured, when they could have such guests in their houses. Plutarch describes an entertainment which Periander gave to these illustrious guests, and observes at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and humour of the persons entertained, did him much more honour than could have been derived from the greatest magnificence. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, at other times pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question, "Which is the most perfect popular government?" That, answered Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is considered an injury to the whole body: that, said Bias, where the law has no superior: that, answered Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor: that, said Anacharsis, where virtue is honoured, and vice detested: said Pittacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked: said Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than punishment: said Chilo, where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority than the orators. From all these opinions, Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.<sup>4</sup>

While these wise men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis, king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was, to consult him how he should answer a proposal made to him by the king of Ethiopia, for his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number

<sup>1</sup> *Ὅτι ἐν ἀγαθῶν κέρτρῳ, εἰς θεῶν ἀνάγκη.*

<sup>2</sup> *Diog. Laert. in vit. Per.*

<sup>3</sup> *In Conv. Sept. Sap.*

<sup>4</sup> *In Conv. Sept. Sap.*

of cities in his dominions; but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and perplexing questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer, on condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea; for the business was only to drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, respecting morality and policy, which are certainly topics not unworthy of the muses. Solon, however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of the pagan world.<sup>1</sup>

Instead of the wise men whom I have mentioned, some authors have substituted others; as Anacharsis, for example, Myso, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The first of these is best known in history.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time, the Scythian Nomades were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality, temperance, and justice. Homer calls them a very just nation.<sup>2</sup> Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once in company with Anacharsis, reproached him with his country; "my country, you think," replied Anacharsis, "is no great honour to me; and you, sir, in my opinion, are no great honour to your country." His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He wrote a treatise in verse upon the military art, and another tract on the laws of Scythia.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Croesus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. "I have no occasion for your gold," said the Scythian in his answer; "I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue." Anacharsis, however, finally accepted the invitation.

We have already observed, that Æsop was much surprised and dissatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Croesus; because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher desired to have reason to admire. "Certainly," says Anacharsis to Æsop, on that occasion, "you have forgot your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, for her highest virtue, could only show her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours: the fox's skin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtleties and stratagems of infinite value. This very image," he continued, "shows me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside, while you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and consequently properly his."<sup>3</sup>

This would be a proper place for an epitome of the life and senti-

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Conv. p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. lib. xiii. ver. 6.



ments of Pythagoras, who flourished in the time of which I have been speaking. But this I defer to another volume, wherein I design to join a great many philosophers together, in order to give the reader the better opportunity of comparing their respective doctrines and tenets.

**ÆSOP.** I rank Æsop with the wise men of Greece, not only because he was often among them, but because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.<sup>2</sup>

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. As to his mind, he had abundance of wit; but with regard to his body, he was hump-backed, little, crooked, deformed, and of a very uncomely countenance; having scarce the figure of a man; and for a considerable time almost without the use of speech. He was moreover a slave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to dispose of him, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he served sent him to labour in the fields; either because he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove so disagreeable an object from his sight.

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the spritely repartees, and the arch and humorous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master, designing to treat some of his friends, ordered Æsop to provide the best things he could find in the market. Æsop thereupon made a large provision of tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second courses, the side dishes, and the removes, were all tongues. "Did I not order you," said Xanthus in a violent passion, "to buy the best victuals the market afforded?" "And have I not obeyed your orders?" said Æsop. "Is there any thing better than tongues? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the organ of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered; with that, men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies; it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods." "Well, then," replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, "go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worst things you can find. This same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment." Æsop, the next day, provided nothing but the very same dishes: telling his master, that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. "It is," said he, "the instrument of all strife and contention, the fomentor of law-suits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, of calumny, and blasphemy."

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the first uses he made of it was to go to Croesus, who, on account of his great fame, had been long desirous of seeing him. The strange deformity of Æsop's person, at first shocked the king, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon

<sup>2</sup> Æsopus ille e Phrygia fabulator, haud immerito sapiens existimatus est; cum quæ utilia monita suasque erant, non severe, non imperiose præcepit et censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, res salubriter ac prospicienter animadvertens, in mentes animosque hominum, cum audiendi quadam illecebra induit.—Aul. Gell. Noct. Att.

discovered itself through the coarse veil that covered it, and Croesus found, as Æsop said on another occasion, that we ought not to consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

He made several voyages into Greece, either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of Croesus. Being at Athens shortly after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty, and abolished the popular government, and observing that the Athenians bore this yoke with impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs, who demanded a king from Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubted whether the fables of Æsop, such as we have them, are all his, at least, in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to Planudes, who wrote his life, and lived in the 14th century.

Æsop is reckoned the author and inventor of this simple and natural manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables; in which light Phædrus speaks of him :

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam reparit  
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.*

But the glory of this invention belongs properly to the poet Hesiod ;<sup>2</sup> an invention which does not seem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. Plato tells us that Socrates, a short time before he died, turned some of Æsop's fables into verse ;<sup>3</sup> and Plato himself earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in them betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.<sup>4</sup>

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent disguise, in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator, certainly designing the prospect of nature for the instruction of mankind, endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man of the several duties incumbent upon him, and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb ; of fidelity and friendship in the dog ; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness and cruelty, in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger, and other species of animals. All this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man, if he should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

This is a dumb language which all nations understand ; it is a sentiment interwoven in our nature, which every man carries about with him. Æsop was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold of and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men's attentions to this sort of genuine and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of

<sup>1</sup> Phædr. l. i. fab. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Illis quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiamsi originem non ab Æsopæ acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus,) nomine tamen Æsopi maxime celebrantur, ducere animos solent præcipue rusticorum et imparitorem : qui et simplicius quæ ficta sunt audiunt, et capti voluptate, facile his quibus delectantur consentiunt.—Quintil. l. v. c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Phædr. p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 372.

all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of society, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament, but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they were more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diffused, but at the same time have a simplicity and elegance that very much resembles the Attic spirit and style, in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Grecians. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity, has enlivened his fables with a spritely and original turn of thought and expression peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive why Seneca lays down as a fact, that the Romans, to his time, had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death.<sup>2</sup> He went to Delphos with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer, in the name of Croesus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a considerable sum.<sup>3</sup> A quarrel which arose between him and the people of Delphos, occasioned him, after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Croesus, and to inform him that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphos caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that, to put an end to those evils, they caused it to be announced in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. At the third generation, a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop, than being descended from the persons who had bought that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.<sup>4</sup>

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; to let all the people know, says Phædrus,<sup>5</sup> that the ways of honour were equally open to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so honourable a distinction.

Æsopo ingentem statuam ponere Attici,  
Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,  
Patere honoris seirent ut cuncti viam,  
Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.

<sup>1</sup> Non audo te usque eo producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsopæos logos, intentarum Romanis ingenio ipso, solita tibi venustate connectas.—Senec. de Consol. ad Polyb. c. 27.

<sup>2</sup> De sera Numinis vindicta, p. 556, 557.

<sup>3</sup> Four minæ or nearly equal \$33.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. ii.



